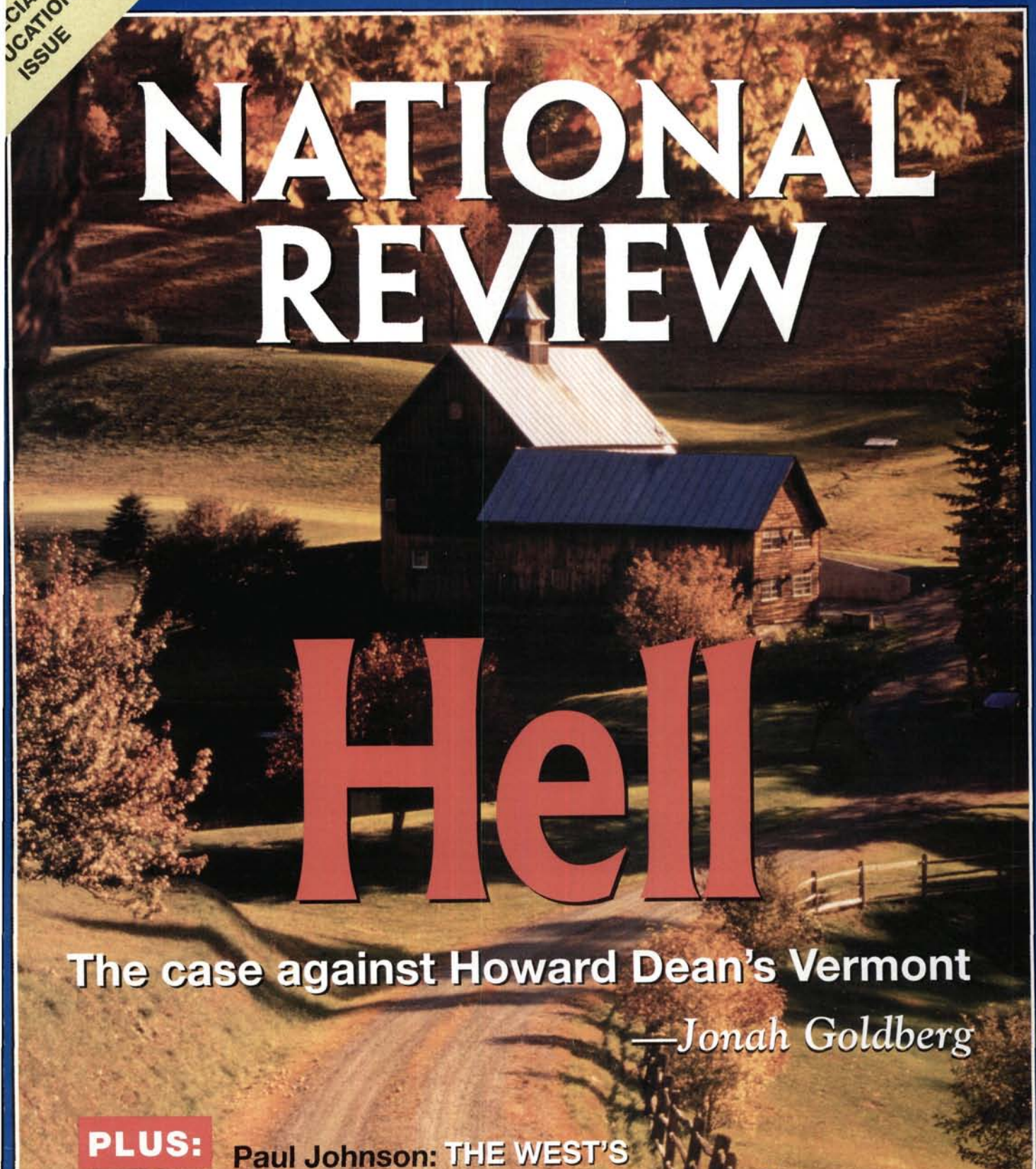
October 13, 2003 49145 $3.95 U.S., $4.95 Canadian

CIAL
UCATION
ISSUE

NATIONAL REVIEW



Hell

The case against Howard Dean's Vermont

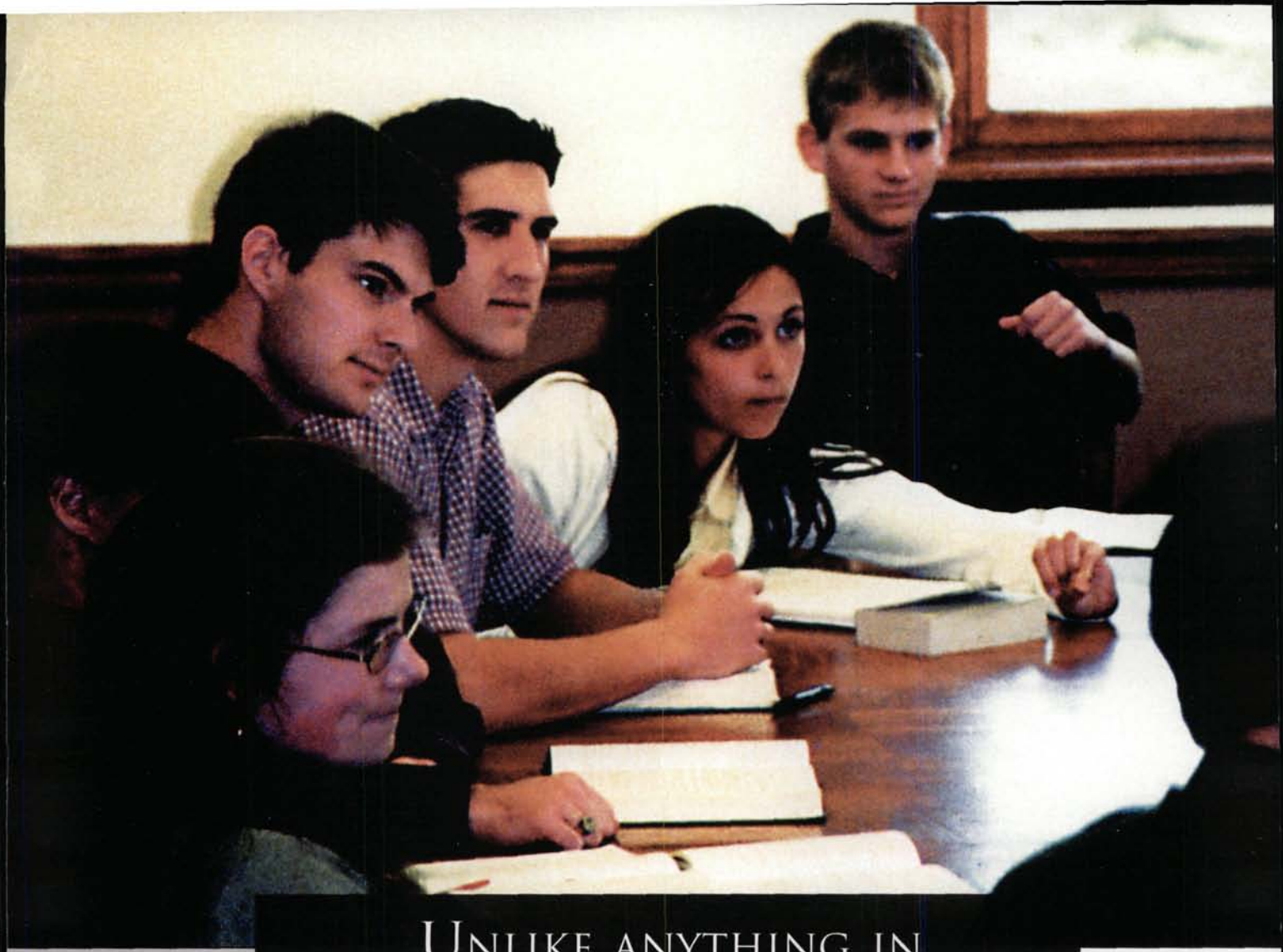
—*Jonah Goldberg*

PLUS: Paul Johnson: THE WEST'S NEW IDEOLOGY: PESSIMISM

Roger Scruton: TO BE FREE OF THE U.N.

#BXNCMYG**********AUTO** 5-DIGIT 94301
#94301UZZ555BY003# 02232004
88 NTRU 644 P087
RON UNZ
555 BRYANT ST # 371
PALO ALTO CA 94301-1704

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Unlike anything in your experience

"A sweeping tour of the greatest and most influental works of Western Civilization, it is surely one of the most rigorous curriculums of any school in the country."

- The National Review College Guide

At Thomas Aquinas College, students don't read textbooks or attend lectures. In small group seminars, our students and teachers discuss, debate, test, and come to understand the original writings of the greatest minds of our civilization.

Many of our permanent faculty are dead, but you know them by name: Aristotle, Dante, Newman, Augustine, Einstein, and Aquinas, to name a few. But the truth they pursued never dies—it is unchanging. And studying the writings of these great seekers of truth is a sure path to understanding. It is an exhilarating experience, one that liberates the mind and strengthens the spirit.

Thomas Aquinas College

www.thomasaquinas.edu | 800.634.9797

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NATIONAL REVIEW

OCTOBER 13, 2003 VOL. LV, NO. 19

www.nationalreview.com

■ COVER STORY

Page 24

The 'Flatlanders' and Their King

Howard Dean typifies what many call "the Flatlander invasion"—the massive influx of urban professional liberals who've taken advantage of Vermont's famous tolerance and don't-tread-on-me individualism and turned it into a whatever-floats-your-boat Epcot Center exhibit of Green Socialism. *By Jonah Goldberg*

ARTICLES

17 **An 'Ism' for All Seasons** *by Paul Johnson*
Intellectuals and their camp followers have found a new ideology.

20 **The Joy of Recess** *by Kate O'Beirne*
An idea for countering Democratic filibustering.

22 **The Unlikely Superstar** *by Dave Shiflett*
Johnny Cash, up to Glory.

24 **The 'Flatlanders' and Their King** *by Jonah Goldberg*
From Ethan Allen to Calvin Coolidge to Howard Dean . . . how sad.

27 **The U.N.: Now Less Than Ever** *by Roger Scruton*
There must be a way out.

29 **Iraq As It Stands** *by Amir Taheri*
There is good news, and bad news, and a country given a chance.

NATIONAL REVIEW 2003 Education

34 **Topsy-Turvy** *by Victor Davis Hanson*
American universities are places of dizzying unreality—and this does considerable harm.

44 **Waking Up** *by Rachel Zabarkes Friedman*
September 11 has made some students question the orthodoxy of their teachers.

46 **The Great Servers** *by Carlos Ramos-Mrosovsky*
For applicants, 'community service' is de rigueur—and often baloney.

BOOKS, ARTS & MANNERS

50 **A Global Coup d'Etat**—*Roger Kimball* . . . Coercing Virtue: The Worldwide Rule of Judges, *by Robert H. Bork*

52 **Desperation Island**—*Jay Nordlinger* . . . Cuba: The Morning After—Confronting Castro's Legacy, *by Mark Falcoff*

54 **Existence, At Least**—*David Harsanyi* . . . Right to Exist: A Moral Defense of Israel's Wars, *by Yaacov Lozowick*; The Case for Israel, *by Alan Dershowitz*

56 **Sweet Tales of the CIA**—*David Klinghoffer* . . . Loose Lips, *by Claire Berlinski*

58 **Shelf Life: Reagan's Thinking Points**—Michael Potemra on the Gipper's remarkable life in letters.

59 **The Straggler: The Tale of the Tapes**—John Derbyshire has taken up talking books.

SECTIONS

2 Letters
4 For the Record
6 The Week
16 Notes & Asides
32 Help!
49 The Long View
51 Poetry
62 On the Right
64 What's Right

COVER: *Bob Krist/Corbis*

NATIONAL REVIEW (ISSN: 0028-0038) is published bi-weekly, except for the first issue in January, by NATIONAL REVIEW, Inc., at 215 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016. Periodicals postage paid at New York, N.Y., and additional mailing offices. ©National Review, Inc., 2003. Address all editorial mail, manuscripts, letters to the editor, etc., to Editorial Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, 215 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016. Address all subscription mail orders, changes of address, undeliverable copies, etc., to Circulation Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, P. O. Box 668, Mount Morris, Ill. 61054-0668; phone, 815-734-1232, Monday–Friday, 8:00 A.M. to 10:30 P.M. Eastern time. Adjustment requests should be accompanied by a current mailing label or facsimile. Direct classified advertising inquiries to: Classifieds Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, 215 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016 or call 212-679-7330. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to Circulation Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, P. O. Box 668, Mount Morris, Ill. 61054-0668. Printed in the U.S.A.

RATES: $59.00 a year (25 issues). Add $21.50 for Canada and other foreign subscriptions, per year. (All payments in U.S. currency.) The editors cannot be responsible for unsolicited manuscripts or artwork unless return postage or, better, a stamped self-addressed envelope is enclosed. Opinions expressed in signed articles do not necessarily represent the views of the editors.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NATIONAL REVIEW

October 13 issue; printed September 25

EDITOR
Richard Lowry

Senior Editors
Richard Brookhiser / Jeffrey Hart
Ramesh Ponnuru / David Pryce-Jones
Managing Editor Jay Nordlinger
Washington Editor Kate O'Beirne
Literary Editor Michael Potemra
Executive Editor Dorothy McCartney
National Political Reporter John J. Miller
White House Correspondent Byron York
Art Director Luba Kolomytseva
Production Editor Christopher McEvoy

Associate Editors
Sarah Bramwell / Kathryn Jean Lopez
Research Director John J. Virtes
Executive Secretary Frances Bronson
Assistant to the Editor Jane Jolis

Editorial Associates
Aaron P. Bailey / Patricia B. Bozell
Meghan Keane / Jane Buckley Smith

Contributing Editors
Robert H. Bork / John Derbyshire /
W. H. von Dreele / Rod Dreher
David Frum / Roman Genn
Jonah Goldberg / John Hillen
Florence King / Lawrence Kudlow
Mark R. Levin / Rob Long
Stephen Moore / John Simon

PRESIDENT
Thomas L. Rhodes

EDITORS-AT-LARGE
Linda Bridges / Wm. F. Buckley Jr. / John O'Sullivan

Contributors
Hadley Arkes / Baloo
Tom Bethell / James Bowman
David Brudnoy / Priscilla L. Buckley
Eliot A. Cohen / Brian Crozier
Dinesh D'Souza / M. Stanton Evans
Chester E. Finn Jr. / Neal B. Freeman
James Gardner / David Gelernter
George Gilder / Charles R. Kesler
John Kiley / James Jackson Kilpatrick
David Klinghoffer / Anthony Lejeune
D. Keith Mano / Richard John Neuhaus
Michael Novak / Alan Reynolds
William A. Rusher / Tracy Lee Simmons
Terry Teachout / Taki Theodoracopulos
Ralph de Toledano / Vin Weber / Timothy J. Wheeler

Associate Publisher Jack Fowler Sr.
Assistant to the Publisher Kevin Longstreet
Assistant to the President Barbara Nowack
Chief Financial Officer James X. Kilbridge
Accounting Manager Galina Veygman
Accountant Irina Dynkevich
Treasurer Rose Flynn DeMaio
Business Services
Alex Batey / Victoria Manca
Circulation Director Theresa Maloney
Circulation Manager Jason Ng

WORLD WIDE WEB http://www.nationalreview.com
MAIN NUMBER 212-679-7330
SUBSCRIPTION INQUIRIES 815-734-1232
WASHINGTON OFFICE 202-543-9226

ADVERTISING SALES 212-679-7330
Executive Publisher Scott F. Budd
Advertising Manager Aaron Cohen
Advertising Representative Jim Fowler
Detroit Rep. Joseph J. Colucci 248-626-9918

PUBLISHER
Edward A. Capano

letters to the editor

IN RIYADH

I want to take issue with the characterization of the Arab American Institute (AAI) in the article by Alex Alexiev ("Stopping the Saudis," Sept. 1). In the piece, Alexiev managed to recycle a number of allegations about U.S.-Saudi relations and then attacked our organization almost parenthetically toward the end of the diatribe. Not only is his information inaccurate, and based solely on a poorly written article in the *Arab News*, it also manages to further distort already warped allegations about remarks I made at a recent meeting of the World Assembly of Muslim Youth (WAMY).

For the record: I was asked by the U.S. embassy in Riyadh to speak at WAMY. During the program, I received a question about reports that 13,000 Arab and Muslim males were being considered for deportation by the U.S. government for visa violations. I responded that we were working with a coalition of U.S. organizations to ensure due process for these individuals. I also reminded the audience, however, about how illegal immigrants are treated in Arab countries. I noted that AAI's goal in this case is to make sure that American laws and values are protected and respected in dealing with this issue. On no occasion was there a suggestion of WAMY and AAI working together on such an effort. Alexiev, of course, could have learned this had he inquired before repeating the charge that the interests of the Institute are somehow those of a foreign entity.

If this is indicative of the quality of journalistic research and integrity the NATIONAL REVIEW allows in its publication, then I must seriously question both Alexiev's and NATIONAL REVIEW's work. Shame on you both.

James J. Zogby
President
Arab American Institute
Washington, D.C.

ALEX ALEXIEV REPLIES: *Mr. Zogby takes issue with my statement that the World Assembly of Muslim Youth will "'take up the cases' of 13,000 Muslim illegal aliens slated for deportation, together with the Arab American Institute, an American non-profit organization." He further states that "on no occasion was there a suggestion of WAMY and AAI working together on such an effort."*

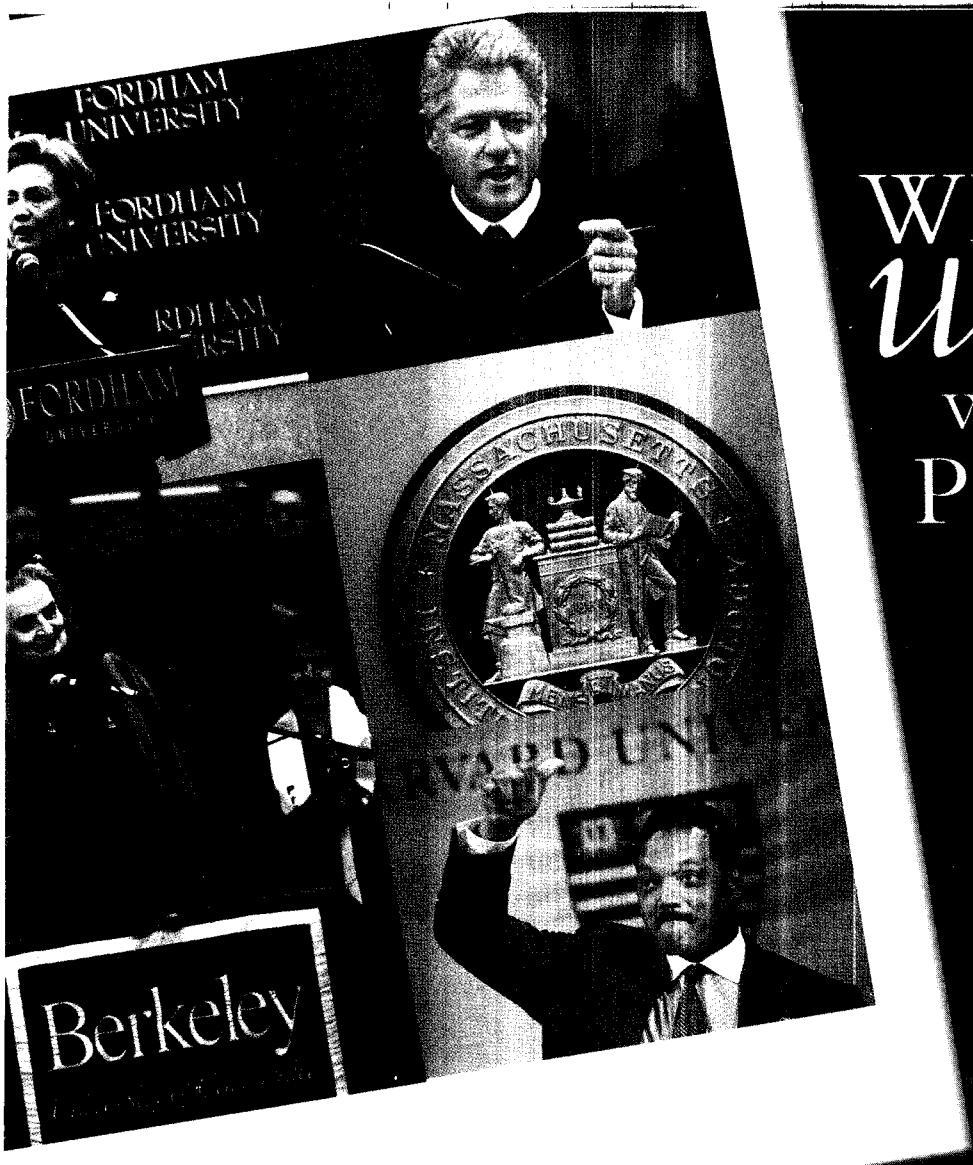
If the article in Arab News *was indeed "poorly written," that's a matter Zogby should take up with the* Arab News, *but here is exactly what it said regarding WAMY and AAI: "The Washington-based Arab American Institute and the World Assembly of Muslim Youth (WAMY) will take up the cases of some 13,000 Arabs and Muslims, some of whom have been targeted by the US government for possible deportation." To me, this sounds like planned cooperation, especially considering that the issue was discussed at a Zogby press conference at WAMY headquarters in the presence of WAMY's president.*

Nor was there much ambiguity concerning Zogby's position. Far from being interested only in assuring that the illegal aliens were accorded due process, as stated in his letter, Zogby claimed (according to the Arab News) *that these individuals were "not illegal because of a pending status change" and were subject to "selective prosecution" and a "discriminatory attitude toward Muslims" that was "disturbing."*

This quite aside from the even more fundamental question of the wisdom of contacts with WAMY, an organization that has been implicated in funding terrorist organizations and activities by several governments.

NATIONAL REVIEW encourages letters to the editor. Letters should be submitted by e-mail to letters@nationalreview.com or by fax to (212) 849-2835 or by mail to Letters Editor, NATIONAL REVIEW, 215 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016. Please include your full name, address, and daytime phone number. Letters will be edited for space and clarity.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



WHAT'S *wrong* with this PICTURE?

College administrators think it's fine.

They want to [illegible] an incomplete [illegible] includes speakers [illegible]

If you are bold enough [illegible] With the help of Y[illegible] school who will ha[illegible] example, 2,500 stud[illegible] for a Foundation le[illegible] 1,000 students jamm[illegible] standing-room-only [illegible] State University.

Whether the speaker [illegible] **David Horowitz**, [illegible] a speaker sponsored [illegible] program on campu[illegible]

So don't let your ad[illegible] hear a conservative [illegible] Jesse Jackson, and M[illegible] the battle to bring b[illegible] Foundation today a[illegible]

[illegible], you can bring balance to your [illegible] Foundation, you can speak[illegible] impact on your classmates' [illegible] for an event at Furman University, [illegible] University of Wisconsin – Madison, [illegible] Hall at Cal Poly State University, and [illegible] students heard a Foundation speak[illegible]

Bob Barr, Walter Williams, Ann Coulter, [illegible] scores of other conservative lecture[illegible] America's Foundation is often the [illegible]

[illegible] faculty tell you that students [illegible] don't let the likes of Bill Clinton, [illegible] that control the campus debate, [illegible] America's college campuses. Call [illegible] 9231.

FOUNDATION

Center

Center

1.800.292.9231

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

for the record

"Oh, go ahead—what's the worst that could happen?"

■ In *Newsweek* poll, President Bush earns 52 percent approval rating. . . . **Condoleezza Rice**, on *Nightline*: "I have every reason to believe that we will have a full accounting of what happened to these weapons of mass destruction." . . . RNC chairman **Ed Gillespie**, on MSNBC: "We can either wage this war against terror in Baghdad or in Kabul or we'll end up waging it in Baltimore and in Kansas." . . . Secretary of state **Colin Powell**, in *Wall Street Journal*: "Iraqis are on the road to democratic self-government." . . . Sen. **Ted Kennedy** (D., Mass.) on Iraq war: "This was made up in Texas, announced in January to the Republican leadership that war was going to take place and was going to be good politically. This whole thing was a fraud." . . . Former secretary of state **Madeleine Albright** on Iraq, in *Time*: "Frankly, if there was a President **Gore**, we wouldn't be in this particular mess." . . . In CBS News poll, 47 percent disapprove Bush's handling of Iraq and 46 percent approve.

■ In American Research Group poll of New Hampshire Democrats, former governor **Howard Dean** (D., Vt.) leads Sen. **John Kerry** (D., Mass.), 31 percent to 21 percent. . . . "Dean's been imploding," says Kerry. "You can't make 15 gaffes a week and be president." . . . In *Newsweek* poll, Bush leads Dean, 53 percent to 37 percent, and also leads Sen. **Hillary Clinton** (D., N.Y.), 51 percent to 41 percent. . . . In Field Poll of California voters, Dean leads Democratic primary field with 23 percent but only Sen. **Joe Lieberman** (D., Conn.) tops Bush (45 percent to 43 percent) in general-election matchup. . . . Former Clinton adviser **Dick Morris**, on Fox News: "I believe Howard Dean is the only major Democratic candidate who cannot defeat Bush."

■ **Wesley Clark** on congressional resolution authorizing Iraq war, on Sept. 18: "On balance, I probably would have voted for it." . . . Clark, next day: "Let's make one thing real clear: I would never have voted for this war." . . . **Jim Jordan** of Kerry campaign, in *Washington Post*: "We'll withhold comment until the general's blue-ribbon team of consultants and advisers decide what his position actually is." . . . Clark on whether he has ever voted for Republicans, in *Washington Post*: "I don't even remember. . . . I imagine that I voted for **Reagan** at one time or another." . . . **Bill Clinton**: "This is the best field of candidates we have had in decades." . . . **George McGovern** on Dean, in *U.S. News & World Report*: "His campaign reminds me a lot of what we did 30 years ago." . . . Former New York City mayor **Ed Koch**, on Fox News: "I think [Bush has] been terrific. And I have never voted in the past for a Republican president . . . but I am voting for George Bush this time around."

■ Gov. **Gray Davis** (D., Calif.) on who's behind his recall election: "the same crowd that misused the Constitution to impeach President Clinton and abused the judicial system to stop the vote count in Florida." . . . **Tom McClintock** (R.), in Ventura County *Star:* "If Mr. **Schwarzenegger**'s campaign would spend a fraction of the time studying the issues as he has spent trying to muscle me out of the race, they'd be a lot better off."

■ In Raleigh *News & Observer* poll, Rep. **Richard Burr** (R.) leads top two Democratic contenders for N.C. Senate seat being vacated by Sen. **John Edwards** (D.). . . . Sen. **Jon Corzine** (D., N.J.) on whether Democrats will gain control of Senate after next year's elections, in Trenton *Times*: "I guess I would have to put our chances at less than 50-50." . . . In Tarrance Group poll, Colorado voters favor Sen. **Ben Nighthorse Campbell** (R.) over potential challenger **Gary Hart** (D.), 55 percent to 36 percent. . . . Club for Growth endorses state senator **Rico Oller** (R.) in California's 3rd congressional district. . . . New Orleans *Times-Picayune* endorses Republican **Bobby Jindal** for governor. . . . Seattle voters reject tax on espresso drinks to fund pre-school programs, 68 percent to 32 percent. *Seattle Times* headline: "Latte tax creamed."

■ Attorney general **John Ashcroft** on Patriot Act: "You may have thought with all this hysteria and hyperbole, something had to be wrong." . . . Bush on whether he would appoint brother **Jeb Bush** to federal post in second term, in *Orlando Sentinel*: "No." . . . Bush on whether he would like to see Jeb as president: "It's up to him." . . . Former New York City mayor **Rudy Giuliani** criticizes current mayor **Michael Bloomberg** for restaurant smoking ban, according to *New York Post*: "Smokers should have some rights." . . . Administrative council of U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops gives general support to federal marriage amendment to Constitution.

■ Spanish judge who tried to prosecute former Chilean leader **Augusto Pinochet** five years ago charges **Osama bin Laden** with 9/11 attacks. . . . In Zimbabwe, government shuts down nation's largest newspaper. . . . Former presidents **Vaclav Havel** of Czech Republic, **Arpad Goncz** of Hungary, and **Lech Walesa** of Poland, in letter to *Daily Telegraph*: "Europe ought to make it unambiguously clear that [Fidel] Castro is a dictator, and that for democratic countries a dictatorship cannot become a partner until it commences a process of political liberalization."

■ **Jay Leno** on court decision delaying California recall vote: "Gov. Gray Davis said he welcomed the decision. He said using the punch-card machines wouldn't be fair to the people. And he has a point. After all, those were the machines that got him elected in the first place." **NR**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A Dangerous Dependence

The United States almost lost the Revolutionary War because the nation could not manufacture even the most basic goods required by its Soldiers, Sailors, and Marines.

Hundreds of soldiers who spent the winter of 1777-78 in Valley Forge had no clothes to cover their nakedness, no tents to protect them from the rain and snow, and no blankets to keep them warm. On December 27, 1777, General George Washington sent a letter to the Congress saying, "We have this day no less than two thousand eight hundred and ninety-nine men in camp unfit for duty, because they are barefoot and otherwise naked."

President Washington's first State of the Union message called upon Congress to ensure that the nation produced domestically those goods essential to the national defense.

From that time until the late 20th Century, Congress safeguarded U.S. national security by requiring that certain vital goods and equipment be purchased only from factories operating within the United States.

In recent years, however, the U.S. Government has weakened and abandoned those traditional policies. Now, defense contractors are encouraged to buy goods, components, and production equipment at the cheapest price, regardless of where they are made, even when such purchases may create a dangerous dependence on foreign suppliers.

Earlier this year, Chairman Duncan Hunter of the House Armed Services Committee sponsored legislation, now approved in the U.S. House of Representatives, to expand the "Buy America" provisions to include defense-related machine tools, hardware, and electronics. Soon, that legislation will be considered in the U.S. Senate.

In late August 2003, seventeen U.S. aerospace suppliers warned Congress that if the "Buy America" provisions in the House Bill became law, foreign governments would retaliate by boycotting U.S. military exports.

If we must take such a threat seriously, America is already too dependent on foreign suppliers for its essential defense.

We think that a secure America depends on secure domestic supplies for U.S. Armed Forces.

We think manufacturing in America matters.

Crafted With Pride in the USA
It Matters!

P.O.Box 65326
Washington, DC 20035
www.craftedwithpride.org

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

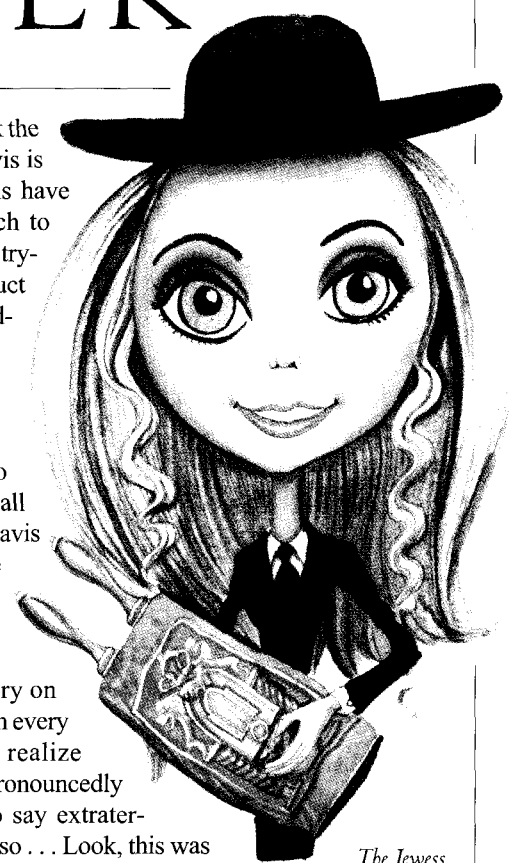
THE WEEK

■ Hurricane Isabel was destructive, but say this for her: She shut down the federal government for two days.

■ Gen. Wesley Clark, four-star CNN pundit, and now would-be presidential candidate, rushed to the head of the Democratic pack, according to instant polls. This is a tribute to Clark's manner, shiny bright and razor sharp, and to the weaknesses, temporary or inexpungible, of his rivals. It cannot be a tribute to the power of Clark's debut, for in his first major interview Clark couldn't state a coherent position on the Iraq war. "I probably would have voted for" a congressional authorization to invade Iraq, he said, but added "that's too simple a question." A moment later he observed, "When you get into this, what happens is you have to put yourself in a position." Which was worse, Clark not knowing that leadership requires answering questions and taking positions; or having no positions on the major issue of the day, on which he has commented ubiquitously on TV? Soon though, Clark found his voice. "Why are we engaged in Iraq, Mr. President—tell the truth," Clark asked a Florida crowd, which shouted back "Oil!" and "Halliburton!" P.S.: Clark is widely thought to be a stalking horse for Hillary Clinton. Confused, pandering, and manipulable—just what we need in a wartime leader.

■ In the debates over President Bush's judicial nominees, some liberals have argued that obstruction is fitting payback for the Republicans' past efforts to block President Clinton's nominees. Some Republicans have conceded this point, saying that both parties have acted badly but that it is time to move forward. But consider the recent decision by three federal judges in California, all appointed by Democrats, to delay the state's recall election. It was an outrageous decision, even by contemporary standards, which is why a larger panel of judges, itself dominated by Democrats, unanimously rejected it. The renegade judges said that the recall had to be moved back six months in order to replace the state's punch-card ballots. The high error rate on those ballots, and their concentration in minority areas, might otherwise have had the effect of disfranchising black and Hispanic voters. This edict allegedly rested on the Supreme Court's decision in *Bush* v. *Gore*. But whatever you think of that decision—and we're no fans of the majority holding in that case—the Supreme Court explicitly said that it was legitimate for localities to have different voting procedures. What the Court condemned was "standardless manual recounts," in which the rules for counting ballots could be changed after the fact to secure the favored outcome. That wasn't at issue in California. Nor did the Supreme Court react to the problem it identified by canceling the election and calling a new one. One of the three judges, Richard Paez, was among the Clinton nominees whom the Republicans tried hardest to block. His confirmation was delayed, but not prevented. The lesson of his attempt to stack the deck for Gray Davis is that if Republicans have anything for which to apologize, it is not trying harder to obstruct Paez and like-minded judges.

■ While appealing to California voters, hoping to get them not to recall him, Gov. Gray Davis said, "We have the sons and daughters of people from every planet, of every country on earth." People from every planet, huh? We realize that California is pronouncedly New Age—not to say extraterrestrial—but even so . . . Look, this was a normal mistake, made by a politician who has to utter thousands of public words a day. But Dan Quayle made a few normal mistakes, too. And—lest we forget—the elite culture, including the news media, treated him like dirt.



The Jewess Barbie (or so say the Saudis—see page 10)

■ There is plenty of blame to go around for the collapse of the global trade talks in Cancún. Europe, seconded by the United States, was unwilling to cut the agricultural subsidies that keep Third World farmers out of our markets. Europe came up with exorbitant demands on the Third World to avoid dealing with the farm issues. The U.S. refused to live up to previous promises to liberalize trade in textiles. The poor countries, for their part, stormed out of the meeting rather than seek even a limited deal. The immediate prospects for trade liberalization do not look good. Bush has indulged in the kind of protectionist gestures to favored constituencies that American presidents tend to hand out during recessions. The Democratic presidential candidates, with the exceptions of Joe Lieberman and possibly Wesley Clark, are turning in a more ideologically protectionist direction. If a free-trade revival is possible, it will have to begin with clear thinking. Some free-traders, especially free-trading liberal journalists, are saying that America ought to offer trade deals that are more "generous" to poor countries. Better to say we should be generous to our-

ROMAN GENN

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

What you should know before you buy a supplement

LEWIS LABS

RDA™ with Calcium and important isoflavones

There is no flashing red light to warn you of a calcium deficiency. In fact, it is usually not detectable until irreversible damage has already been done. Calcium deficiency is hard to detect because the calcium level in the blood may appear to be normal even in extreme cases. Why? Because the body has a calcium bank in the form of teeth and bones. The need for calcium to control muscular contractions (including the heart), blood-clotting, transmission of nerve impulses and other requirements, takes priority. In short, a series of biochemical reactions is triggered and a check is written on your calcium bank.

It may be decades before you know for sure when loose teeth, receding gums or a fractured hip demonstrate how brittle and chalky your bones have become. There is no known cure for osteoporosis and it seems to be afflicting people at increasingly younger ages. The progression towards this disaster takes years and you may be sure it is going on unnoticed right now in a substantial percentage of our population. Here are the facts that explain why the problem of calcium deficiency is so widespread.

Calcium is not easily absorbed. Perhaps no more than 10-20% of that which is found in the foods consumed is actually metabolized. There are a lot of reasons why this is so. A meal high in fats can form insoluble calcium soaps causing the calcium to pass through the system unabsorbed. The calcium in certain vegetables may be inhibited from release by oxalates – found naturally in such foods as rhubarb, kale, spinach and broccoli or phytates in grains and cereals and, of course, a supply of Vitamins A and D must be present for the absorption and use of calcium.

In addition, calcium requires an acid environment for absorption – a special problem for older people who tend to have a lower production of digestive acids. There is more. Amino acids – leucine, arginine and serine – are needed for the formation of calcium-amino acid complexes. Magnesium and phosphorous must be present in an appropriate ratio. Without all these, and other factors, you may lose a lot of the benefits no matter how much calcium you may be ingesting.

You will find quite an array of calcium supplements on the shelf in your health food store. Some will be simple calcium carbonates – others will be calcium carbonate in so-called natural forms, such as oyster shells or eggshells. You will find bone-meal, di-calcium phosphate, dolomite, calcium lactate, calcium glutonate and many others. True, they all contain calcium but they vary in the amount of actual calcium content from 40% for calcium carbonate to around 9% for calcium glutonate. Carbonate has the highest percentage of calcium but it is an *antacid*. The catch is that calcium can only be absorbed by the body in an acid environment so this may make the calcium carbonate a somewhat self-defeating exercise, especially for older people who often suffer from digestive acid deficiency. Calcium carbonate from oyster shells is no different from calcium carbonate in any other form. It is, after all, a mineral. However, oyster shells carry the additional risk of being contaminated with heavy metals that naturally occur in the oyster bed environment.

Calcium phosphate may be the best source of calcium for us since it has a hydrogen bond and the principle calcium in the body is calcium hydrogen phosphate. Probably the best combination of calcium sources is found in one of Lewis Laboratories' products called **RDA**. In this product, calcium phosphate is included with calcium carbonate.

Another advantage of **Lewis Labs' RDA** is the beneficial result of its being a complete broad spectrum nutritional supplement. It is not just a calcium supplement. While each daily portion contains *100% of the daily calcium requirement*, **RDA** also contains all the other factors associated with the *efficient utilization of calcium*. It naturally stimulates the digestive acids to overcome the antacid of calcium carbonate.

Lewis Labs' RDA contains all 34 nutrients (vitamins, minerals and protein) with an ideal balance of the eight essential amino acids recognized as essential for human nutrition. It has been formulated to assure synergistic interaction between all the nutrients for most effective results. It is a *complete* nutritional supplement.

No matter what your needs may be, **Lewis Labs' RDA** is the proper cornerstone for a sound nutritional program. **RDA** is a good-tasting powder which dissolves easily in liquid. It is ideal for the entire family and suitable for vegetarians. Free taste sample available – call

1-800-243-6020

LEWIS LABORATORIES INTERNATIONAL, LTD.

P.O. Box 373
Southport, CT 06890

www.lewis-labs.com

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

selves. Our farm subsidies, our steel tariffs, our textile quotas make Americans worse off. We should give them up from self-interest, not charity.

■ Capt. James Yee, a Muslim chaplain in the Army who ministered to the detainees at Guantanamo Bay, was arrested—one source said he was suspected of trying to help the prisoners in some, unwholesome way; another claimed that he was found with diagrams of the facility in his possession. More details, perhaps exculpatory, will emerge at his trial. But this is not the first problem to arise with Muslim chaplains in the military or in prisons; this summer, for example, the *Washington Post* reported that some military chaplains' websites direct troops to the lectures of jihadist clerics. Wanted: Muslim clergy untainted by Islamist (read: Saudi-backed) indoctrination. Any volunteers?

■ The Patriot Act, the anti-terrorist legislation passed by Congress right after September 11, has been subjected to intense, and usually ill-informed, criticism. Far from making concessions to the critics, President Bush has asked for three additional powers for law enforcement. He would expand the death penalty to apply to acts of sabotage that result in death. He thinks there should be a presumption against bail for suspects in terrorism cases. And he wants federal agents to be able to issue administrative subpoenas in terrorism cases, without getting a grand jury to go along. Florida Republican congressman Tom Feeney, who is sponsoring a bill to allow the administrative subpoenas, notes that more than 335 laws authorize them in other contexts, ranging from cases of health-care fraud to cases of threats against the president. He also notes that witnesses would be able to fight the subpoenas in court and, in almost all cases, to notify the target of the agents' action. Feeney and the administration present two rationales for the subpoenas. They would enable agents to act quickly in cases when there is not enough time to work with a grand jury. Second, they would make it possible for witnesses who want to cooperate to do so without fear of being sued for giving out information too freely. It is a reasonable case, but not quite dispositive. Why couldn't both problems be solved by letting judges, rather than grand juries, okay the subpoenas? If we are going to expand the administrative subpoena in terrorism cases, should we perhaps also restrict it in less serious cases? Are there actual cases in which the grand-jury requirement has impeded law enforcement? Until this case is made in more detail, even people sympathetic to the administration will continue to have doubts.

■ When immigrants become citizens, they are supposed to recite an Oath of Allegiance to the United States. It is not a pithy or poetic pledge, but it is a sturdy statement full of martial vigor. Some of the language dates back to the 1790s. In early September, the folks at the Bureau of Citizenship and Immigration Services decided to make the oath's vocabulary more "modern," so they wrote a shorter version that removed words like "abjure" and "potentate." This new oath, however, included a grammatical error (subject-verb agreement), a clause that seemed to weaken the oath-takers' commitment to the Constitution, and a needlessly vague line about military-service obligations. National Review Online obtained a draft of the language and published it. This prompted the American Legion and former attorney general Ed Meese to write letters complaining about the changes. Sen. Lamar Alexander, the Tennessee Republican, took to the floor of the Senate—on September 11, no less—to say that he preferred the traditional oath. Surprised by the strong response, the Bush administration delayed introducing the revision. Now the delay may become permanent: On September 17, Alexander offered legislation that would make the current Oath of Allegiance the law of the land.

■ Richard Grasso, former chairman and chief executive of the New York Stock Exchange, resigned when his $139.5 million deferred compensation payout flamed out in the press. Grasso's story fed the wealth envy that has afflicted America since the Eighties, when more Americans began getting wealthy. A private company should pay its executives whatever the market will bear. Directors would be remiss if they did not offer carrots sufficient to retain the best talent. And Grasso, who rose from a clerk earning $82.50 a week, showed talent, notably in reopening the Stock Exchange just four business days after 9/11. But the NYSE is not just a private company. It is charged, under the Securities and Exchange Act, with being a "self-regulatory" organization, responsible for conducting annual inspections of its member firms (the SEC itself looks out for fraud). Grasso picked the members of his compensation committee, who were drawn from firms he regulated. They all should have seen this problem coming, and avoided it.

■ Irving Kristol once remarked that the people who complain that tax cuts are unfair can never say just how "fair" a tax code would have to be to merit their approval: Would the top rate have to be 90 percent? 95 percent? A recent column by Al Hunt illustrates the point. He complains, "The Bush tax cuts will increase after-tax income for millionaires by more than 5%, more than twice the percentage increase for middle-income taxpayers, while those in the bottom quintile will stagnate." If the tax cuts promote growth, including wage growth, Hunt's numbers are wrong. But leave that aside, and consider the implications of the measure Hunt is using. If a rich man pays 99 percent of his income in tax and Bush reduces his tax to 98 percent, then Bush is doubling the man's income. He keeps two cents of every dollar earned rather than one. A middle-class fellow whose tax goes from 25 to 20, on the other hand,

ATTENTION NR SUBSCRIBERS: NR's digital edition—that is, the magazine online, complete and every two weeks, just like the print edition—is now free to you. It is also on sale to others (for $19.95 a year). For more information, please go to our website, www.NationalReview.com.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Kicking the Vietnam Syndrome

H. R. McMaster is a national security affairs fellow at the Hoover Institution and author of *Dereliction of Duty: Lyndon Johnson, Robert McNamara, the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the Lies That Led to Vietnam.*

For a brief period, it seemed that the 1991 gulf war had put an end to the Vietnam syndrome—a belief that the United States should avoid military intervention abroad. The painful memory of America's long, costly, and divisive war in Vietnam, however, retained its influence on the American psyche. Recent protests over impending military action against the Iraqi regime again invoke the tragedy and the analogies of Vietnam. Those simplistic analogies suited the purposes of their purveyors because America's collective memory of the war has become more symbolic than historical. To judge better the value of the inevitable Vietnam analogy, we might ask what, if anything, we can learn from our painful experience in Southeast Asia.

Most historians, sensitive to the complex causality of historical events, would answer cautiously. What good is history, however, if we cannot learn from experience? If we neglect previous mistakes are we not, as philosopher George Santayana suggested, doomed to repeat them? Indeed, the desire to learn from Vietnam remains one of the war's enduring legacies.

The first step in learning the *right* lessons is to become familiar with the historical record. It may be the uniqueness of how America went to war in Vietnam that is most instructive. There was no clear decision for war. Instead of exercising leadership, President Lyndon B. Johnson sought to avoid a decision and preserve a fragile consensus built on lies and deceptions. The administration's dishonesty allowed the president to circumvent the Constitution and deny the American people a say in the most important question a nation must face. As a result, Americans were at war before they even recognized that fact. LBJ's behavior was not only undemocratic but also removed correctives to what was an unwise policy. Not surprisingly, the way in which the United States went to war had a profound impact on the conduct of the war, its outcome, and its legacy.

President George W. Bush's approach to the current Iraqi problem stands in stark contrast to LBJ's approach to Vietnam. The Bush administration made its case for military action, and, after considerable debate, the American people, through their representatives in Congress, gave approval. The administration also made its case to the United Nations, highlighting the damage that inaction would inflict on prospects for peace in the long term.

Although the dangers of careless military activism are easy to imagine, the cost of passivity is more difficult to discern. In the 1990s, the Vietnam syndrome helped delay and limit U.S. military intervention in the Balkans. Those delays and limits extended murderous Serbian repression and actually accelerated ethnic cleansing in Kosovo. Failure to intervene militarily often permits humanitarian crises to continue and leads to more dangerous conflicts.

Rather than helping us avoid folly, the *symbolic memory of Vietnam poses a danger.* Recognizing most Vietnam analogies for what they are—attempts to evoke emotion rather than invoke historical reasoning—can help minimize that danger. It seems as if the George W. Bush administration has kicked the Vietnam syndrome. Maybe it is time for the rest of us to do the same.

— H. R. McMaster

Paid for by the Hoover Institution, Stanford University.

Interested in more commentary on public policy?

Visit us on-line at **www.hoover.org** *or contact us to receive a complimentary copy of the 200-page, award-winning* Hoover Digest.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE WEEK...

will see an increase of only 7 percent. (He will keep 80 cents of every dollar earned instead of 75 cents.) Never mind that he will still be taxed at a much lower rate than the rich man, and that his taxes were, in this example, cut more than the rich man's were. As a way of measuring fairness, Hunt's method flunks. As a way of inveighing against any and all tax cuts, on the other hand, it works nicely.

■ Nobody would think about passing a law that limited the number of printing presses that the *New York Times* or NATIONAL REVIEW could use. But for some reason, people have a different reaction when it comes to the ownership of broadcast stations. The Federal Communications Commission currently insists that no company own so many stations that it could reach more than 35 percent of Americans (if they were all watching one of those channels). But as part of a recent review of telecom regulations—Congress had mandated periodic reviews in 1996—the commissioners voted to ease that restriction. Companies would now be allowed to reach 45 percent of American eyeballs. Congressmen from both parties reacted with outrage, the House and Senate both voting to oppose the rules. Also outraged was columnist William Safire, who refers to the FCC's decision as an "abomination." Liberals are convinced that this limited deregulation will give Rupert Murdoch more power. The NRA thinks that it will increase the sway of its enemies in the media. Brent Bozell thinks that it will increase the amount of smut on the air. Still others think that the rules will be the death of local news (which would be true only if people no longer wanted to learn about the weather or their sports teams). In other words, the rules have become a target for anyone who is unhappy with any feature of the contemporary media world. We're certainly not always pleased by what we see and hear on the tube. But we also believe in freedom: both freedom of speech and economic freedom. Opponents of the FCC reforms say they want competition. But the reforms promote competition. If Murdoch had not been able to get waivers from the regulations, Fox would never have become a national network capable of providing coverage of the Iraq war to compete with ABC, CBS, and NBC. We can well understand why liberals think that's a bad thing. Congressional Republicans, in joining the liberals, are being much less rational.

■ Anyone who has witnessed the joy of new life will know that newborn babies are able vigorously to express an impressive range of emotions—distress, insecurity, contentment, happiness. It is not likely that this ability begins precisely at birth; presumably an unborn child has it, too. The latest generation of prenatal scanning equipment, called "3D/4D ultrasound technology," confirms this. Until now, ultrasound images of children in the womb have revealed only fuzzy white blobs, which might as well have been remote galaxies seen through a badly focused telescope. Well, this newer technology delivers pictures of astonishing clarity and depth of detail. They clearly show unborn infants smiling, yawning, blinking, and fidgeting, even sucking their thumbs. This is, of course, very bad news for the abortion industry. Congressional legislation to provide free 3D/4D screenings in clinics taking federal funds has been savagely attacked by the armies of "choice." Seethed NARAL's Allison Herwitt: "They [i.e. pro-life campaigners] don't want women to go to Planned Parenthood, where they'll get their full range of options. They just want them to go to crisis-pregnancy centers, where women will be exposed to this weapon at taxpayer's expense." *Weapon?* Isn't the purpose of a weapon to *take* life, while this new scanning technology will . . . Oh, never mind.

■ One day the deputy prime minister of Israel said that expulsion was "one of the options" in dealing with Yasser Arafat, and so was "killing." The next day the foreign minister said that killing was "not an official policy of the Israeli government." But of course it is: Israel picks off terrorist masterminds, as would any state under mortal attack. *Salus populi suprema lex.* But the supreme law of carrying out such decisions is not to discuss them beforehand, especially if one then does not carry them out. Arafat has not fulfilled his obligations under the Oslo process to throttle terror; rather he has unleashed it. The classic argument of those who resist removing him has always been that he would be replaced by someone worse. No doubt he would. But that person would know that his predecessor had been removed. Such grave decisions should not be taken in the atmosphere of a college bull session.

■ Saudi Arabia's ever-vigilant Committee for the Propagation of Virtue and Prevention of Vice has reiterated its ban on Barbie dolls in the kingdom. On its website, the committee thunders that: "Jewish Barbie dolls, with their revealing clothes and shameful postures, accessories, and tools, are a symbol of decadence [in] the perverted West. Let us beware of her dangers!" The following reflection will already have occurred to those readers who saw the 2001 movie *Rat Race*: While they may not care for the girlie doll, there is another Barbie whom these loathsome despots would be only too happy to acquaint their children with—Klaus Barbie, Gestapo chief in France during WW2. Some marketing opportunity here, perhaps, for whatever is the Saudi equivalent of Mattel.

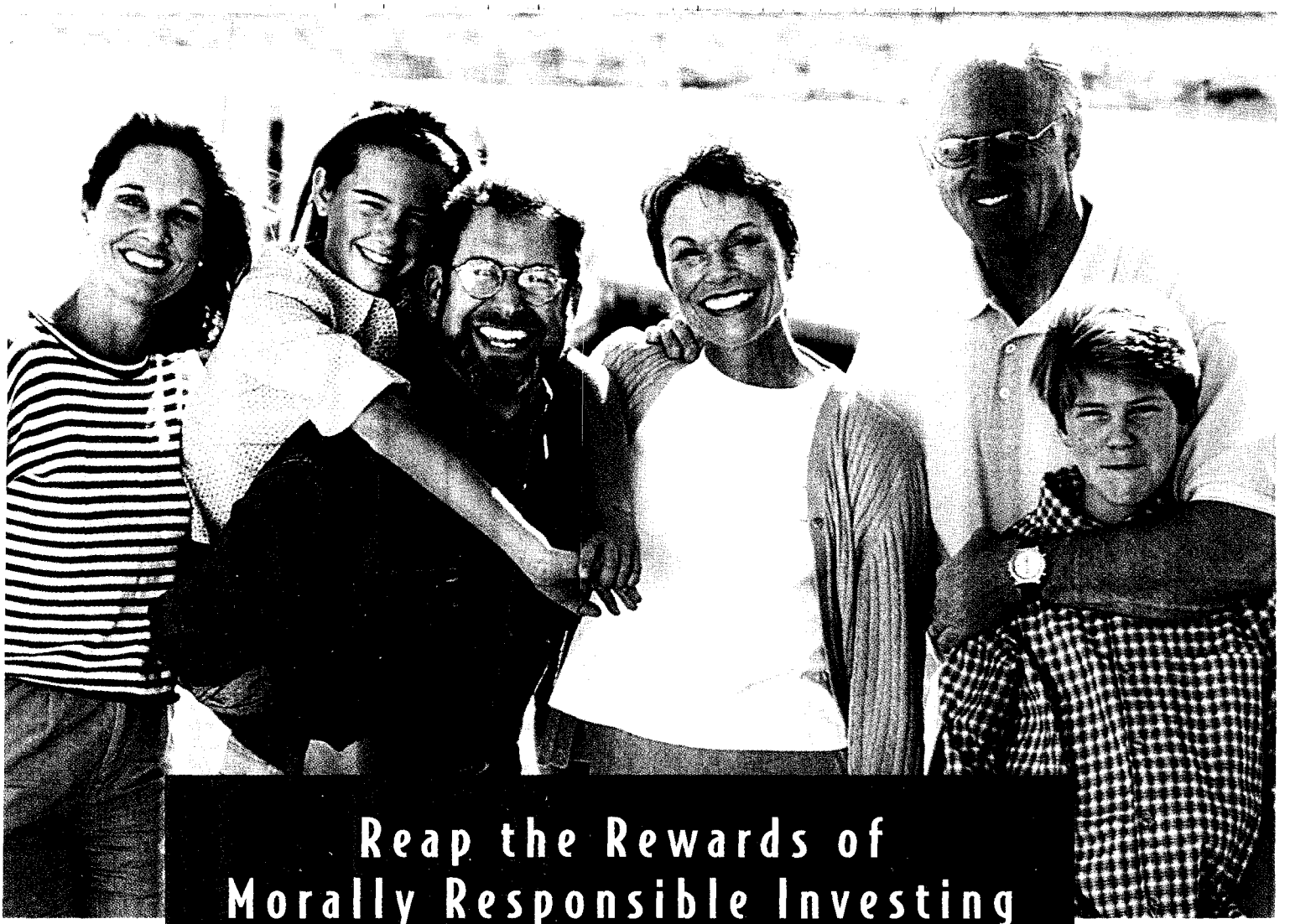
■ In Britain, where the kinder, gentler approach to education

TEDDY THE UNSTEADY

Worse than King Ethelred, who
Just wasn't ready; his view
Takes on a Frenchified cast
As he continues to blast
Bush as a fraud, while Baghdad
Simply means dusting off Dad:
As for Iraq, Teddy wanes
Like Ethelred with the Danes.

—W. H. VON DREELE

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Reap the Rewards of Morally Responsible Investing

INVESTMENT PERFORMANCE Thru 6/30/03	QUARTER	YTD	1-YEAR	SINCE INCEPTION (Annualized)
Ave Maria Catholic Values Fund*	19.59%*	12.14%*	-2.93%*	2.95%**
S&P 500	15.39%	11.75%	0.25%	-9.97%**

Ave Maria is changing the way Catholics invest. And as our results show, it's a change for the better. Unlike most other Catholic mutual fund families, we place equal emphasis on performance and moral criteria whenever we select securities. So Ave Maria shareholders don't sacrifice performance for their religious principles and pro-life beliefs.

It's one reason we've become America's fastest growing Catholic mutual funds. To learn more, contact us for a free investment kit.

1-866-AVE-MARIA Toll-free (1-866-283-6274) or visit www.avemariafund.com

AVE MARIA MUTUAL FUNDS

Smart Investing and Catholic Values

* A contingent deferred sales load of 1% is charged on redemptions of shares within one year of purchase. Assuming redemption of shares at the end of the periods indicated, investment performance would be 18.59%, 11.14% and -3.93% for the quarter, year-to-date and 1-year periods, respectively, ending June 30, 2003.

** Annualized from Fund inception date of May 1, 2001.

The investment performance above assumes reinvestment of dividends and capital gains distributions. Performance data reflects certain fee waivers and reimbursements. Without such waivers, performance would have been lower. The S&P 500 Index is a capitalization weighted unmanaged index of 500 widely traded stocks, created by Standard & Poor's. The index is considered to represent the performance of the stock market in general. Indexes do not incur fees and it is not possible to invest directly in an index.

Past performance is not a guarantee of future results. Investment return and principal value may fluctuate so that shares, when redeemed, may be worth more or less than their original cost. For more complete information about the Ave Maria Catholic Values Fund, including charges and expenses and updated performance, please write or call Schwartz Fund Distributors, Inc. for a free prospectus. Please read the prospectus carefully before you invest or send money. Schwartz Fund Distributors, Inc. 3707 W. Maple Road, Bloomfield Hills, MI 48301.

FINANCIAL ADVISORS: Please call 1-248-644-8500 for Fund kit and more information

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE WEEK...

holds sway, students sitting the nationwide examinations in English, math, and science will no longer be permitted to fail. As of this year's exams, the previous grading of "F" for "fail" will be replaced by "N" for "nearly." Similarly, individual answers in the math exams are no longer to be graded as correct or incorrect, but as "creditworthy" or "not creditworthy." Pressed by a newspaper reporter, the spokesman for the government's Qualifications and Curriculum Authority allowed that, yes, math questions generally had only one correct answer, so that, yes, "not creditworthy" would then mean "wrong." He left the impression, though, that this hurtful truth would be kept hidden from students.

■ The *Washington Post* (9/18): "The BBC radio journalist who reported that Prime Minister Tony Blair's aides had used dubious intelligence data to exaggerate the case for war with Iraq today conceded he made *several mistakes* in his original broadcasts, including *misidentifying* his source as a member of Britain's intelligence services. Andrew Gilligan, testifying before a public inquiry, also acknowledged that he had failed to correct *several false statements* made by the BBC in defense of his reports." (Italics added.) Well, Gilligan *lied* several times. When "mistakes" are made, one should watch the pattern of the mistakes. Ninety-nine percent of the time, they will not be random (i.e., fall on either side of an issue 50-50). Bet the ranch that Gilligan's "mistakes" were *all* anti-Blair, *all* anti-war. Mistakes, hell.

■ John F. Burns of the *New York Times* has published his experiences reporting from Baghdad. He saw fellow journalists, some from television, bribing officials in the Iraqi ministry of information to the tune of hundreds of thousands of dollars, and all for fear that they might be deported and not get their story. For the same reason, they never mentioned the terror around them, or the role of the minders assigned to them. A squad of these minders came to Burns's hotel one night, stole his equipment and money, and told him he should stay in his room waiting for arrest. He slipped away instead, and then arranged to meet Gen. Uday al-Tayyib, director of the ministry of information. Their relationship did not run in the usual cozy groove. Threateningly, the general accused him of being a CIA agent. The general was responsible if anything bad were to happen, Burns answered, and might be shot for it (post-liberation). He further told the staff in the ministry of information to evacuate their building, and as a result no one was killed when the cruise missiles finally struck it. Burns disclaims being a hero, but he's unmistakably angry at the complicity of fellow journalists with Saddam's regime, and doesn't hesitate to call it corruption. That's heroism all right, and the *New York Times* should be congratulated for employing this extraordinary man. They should listen to him, too.

■ The New York Philharmonic decided to commission a piece for the second anniversary of September 11, and it commissioned it from Stephen Hartke, a 51-year-old California composer. Hartke responded with his Symphony No. 3, which received its premiere in Avery Fisher Hall. The work uses a vocal quartet, and also a famous poem: "The Ruin," by an unknown Anglo-Saxon poet of the 8th or 9th century. Recall what the poem says: "The work of giants crumbles." "Roofs are ruined, towers toppled." "The wide walls fell, days of pestilence came. Death swept away all the bravery of men." (Can you imagine a statement less true of the Americans of September 11?) "Their temples became waste places. The city fell to ruin. The multitudes who might have built it anew lay dead on the earth." And then there is this: "Here in times past, many a man, light of heart, gleaming with gold, adorned with splendors, proud and flushed with wine, shone in war trappings, gazed on treasure . . ." But, enough. This is the sort of response to September 11 that one might expect from the elite class (and for more insights into this class, see Paul Johnson's magnificent essay on page 17). If the New York Philharmonic's commissioned composer had responded with a work emphasizing resistance to evil, and courage, and determination, and triumph, and a *refusal to be ruined*—why, we all might have fainted. And critics would have damned the composer as jingoist!

■ The *Wall Street Journal* had the perfect headline: "There He Goes Again." The paper was referring to David Horowitz and his latest public service. Horowitz has proposed—through Students for Academic Freedom—an "Academic Bill of Rights," meant to encourage diversity on campus. By "diversity," he—and we—mean genuine diversity, not the racial stuff but diversity of thought. He is standing for the old pluralism, the old freedom of inquiry, which has been sadly lost, or rather, snuffed out, by the orthodox and intolerant Left. Horowitz hopes to protect students and faculty alike from ideological bullying and persecution—a tall order. We salute him, again, and commend the following website: www.StudentsforAcademicFreedom.org.

■ Three Supreme Court justices—Ginsburg, Breyer, and Kennedy—made their operatic debuts in Washington, in a performance of *Die Fledermaus*. They were guests in the party scene, and this was perfect, really, because this is the part of the opera in which singers and minglers can do as they please, without regard to the score or libretto. The justices found a *living* opera (operetta, really), *evolving*.

IRAQ

Following Through

PRESIDENT BUSH's speech to the U.N. was a determined holding action in an unsettled strategic situation. He stuck to his guns without considering whether some of them should be moved.

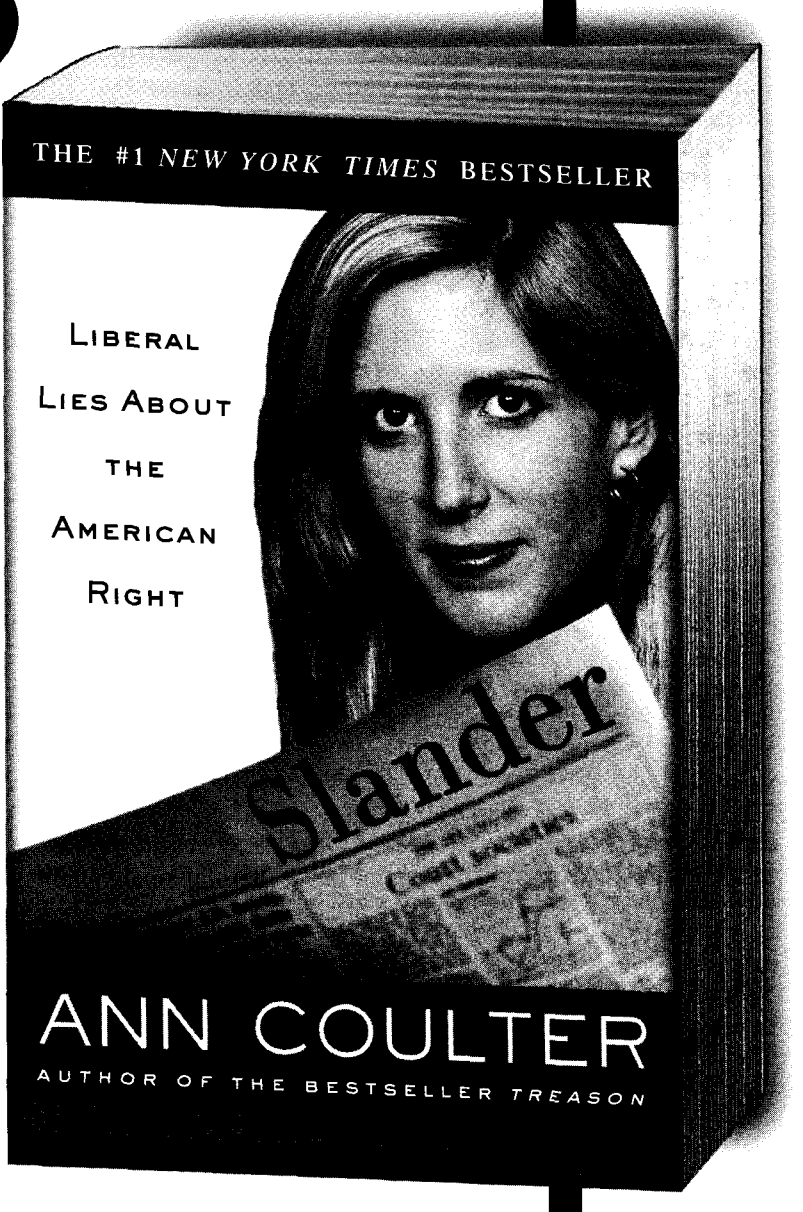
He justified the U.N. address he gave last year on Iraq's defiance of U.N. mandates, and the war that followed: ". . . a coalition of nations acted to defend the peace, and the credibility of the United Nations." A coalition had to because the U.N. wouldn't. It was a dig wrapped in praise.

He explained once again why Saddam deserved to fall. He had and "used" weapons of mass destruction (the poison gas he

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE SENSATIONAL #1 *NEW YORK TIMES* BESTSELLER NOW IN PAPERBACK

With a new foreword by Rush Limbaugh


THE #1 NEW YORK TIMES BESTSELLER
LIBERAL LIES ABOUT THE AMERICAN RIGHT
Slander
ANN COULTER
AUTHOR OF THE BESTSELLER TREASON

"[Ann Coulter] is never in doubt. And that, along with her bright writing, sense of irony and outrage... is what makes *Slander* such **refreshing and provocative reading."** —*Los Angeles Times*

"Written with a great deal of passion ... the real source of its strength—and its usefulness—was its painstaking marshalling of evidence." —*National Review*

"The real value of *Slander* ... is not in the jokes or devastating exposés of liberal politicians and their allies, but the **serious and scholarly study** of just how entrenched the media prejudice is." —*New York Sun*

Don't miss Ann Coulter's controversial new bestseller in hardcover from Crown Forum: TREASON

If you haven't read ANN COULTER, it's an outrage.

Available wherever paperbacks are sold
Visit CrownForum.com and sign up for "sneak peeks" at our upcoming titles and to enter to win free books.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

dropped on Iranian soldiers and Kurds), and his regime was marked by "torture chambers . . . rape rooms and . . . prison cells for innocent children."

He hoped that Iraq could now become a beacon of "freedom, equality, and material progress" and linked that very hope to the violence now occurring there. Terrorists and Baathists, fearing just that result, "have made Iraq the central front in the war on terror and they will be defeated."

Finally he invited the U.N. to help out, "developing a constitution, training civil servants, and conducting free and fair elections," though his expectations seemed moderate. In a Fox interview aired the day before, he remarked that he was "not so sure we have to" give the U.N. a bigger role. In his speech, he made it plain that installing a new Iraqi government would be done at a pace that would serve Iraq's needs, "neither hurried nor delayed by the wishes of other parties."

This was a pre-emptive shot at France, which has suddenly proposed a rapid turnover to an Iraqi government. This is the same France that continues to help police Bosnia and Kosovo, seven and four years respectively after the U.N. and NATO took power in those statelets. France's cynicism in asking for a new leaf in a country that is several times as large is transparent.

France looks as if it will abstain on Washington's latest Security Council resolution, which asks for the fig leaf of U.N. approval. If the resolution passes, we cannot expect much assistance in the way of troops since a passel of countries, including France, Turkey, and Pakistan, have already said that no troops would be coming from them. The Bush administration once again feels the pinch of fighting wars in peacetime mode. If we need to take on these responsibilities, and we do, then we must summon the wherewithal.

What did Bush's speech leave out? He made no mention of Iran or North Korea, speaking of the danger of nuclear proliferation in general terms. Is that because he is trying diplomacy on these rogue states, or because the Axis of Evil is felt to be a faded template?

His praise of freedom and equality was bracing, but of course the U.N., stuffed with despots, is not interested in it. Neither is the America-hating international media, from al-Jazeera to the BBC. We have a message worth getting across, but it will take a sustained worldwide information campaign, not just one-shot presidential speeches, however solid.

Bush's power to do good rests, finally, on his political base at home, which has been chipping under the steady blows of actual bad news—such as the deaths of American servicemen and the attempted assassination of Akila Hashimi, one of three women on the Iraqi Governing Council—and negative atmospherics. The results are visible in Bush's slipping poll numbers and in the boomlet for a loose-lipped egomaniac like Wesley Clark. The tide of gloom can be beaten back by news of the real progress that we are making in Iraq. (Ike Skelton, a Missouri Democrat on the House Armed Services Committee, said after a visit that "the media stresses the wounds, the injuries, and the deaths, as they should, but . . . good stuff . . . isn't being reported.") It also must be counteracted by a stronger sense that American sacrifices have a purpose. The Bush administration did a good job of explaining the reasons for the Iraq war. It did not expect the post-war war, and its efforts to explain that have been episodic. It can, and must, do better.

CALIFORNIA

A Leap in the Dark

CALIFORNIA conservatives are more responsible than anyone else in the state for putting the recall initiative on the ballot, with the possible exception of Governor Gray Davis. But the recall now presents them with an excruciatingly difficult choice. Should they go for state legislator Tom McClintock, or for Arnold Schwarzenegger? McClintock is a smart conservative who understands how California got into its current mess and how to get out of it, but is generally considered unlikely to win. Schwarzenegger is the leading Republican in the race, but his views are decidedly less conservative.

Arguing in favor of pragmatism is the nature of the leading Democrat, lieutenant governor Cruz Bustamante. He is running well to the left of Davis, even Davis in full pander mode. He wants higher corporate taxes and price controls on gasoline. In a state that has been losing productive citizens and businesses to other states, Bustamante's idea of leadership is to bash Wal-Mart for not providing more generous benefits to its employees. No conservative, or centrist, can want to see Bustamante win.

In contrast to the leftist Bustamante, the conservative McClintock, and the careerist Davis, Schwarzenegger has not provided much evidence as to what kind of governor he would be. He has taken a strong stand on the question of giving driver's licenses to illegal immigrants: for reasons of both security and respect for the law, the answer has to be no. He has shown an interest in libertarian economics in the past, and he has said that he would reduce taxes and cap the state's budget growth—sensible steps in one of the most overtaxed states in the nation. He takes a laissez-faire view of medical marijuana that other politicians would be wise to emulate.

On other issues, he has been a disappointment. On the environment, abortion, and gay rights, he has adopted a mostly liberal agenda. He has damned proponents of color blindness as "right-wing crazies." He has made some proposals for political reform that sound good but collapse on inspection. Banning fundraising during budget season, for example, would do little but increase the pace of fundraising before and after the budget was written.

Some of Schwarzenegger's supporters hope that he would reform California's economic policies in the manner of a Margaret Thatcher—or a Tom McClintock, for that matter. One reason for lingering doubt is Schwarzenegger's refusal to pledge not to raise taxes. That may mean that he intends to raise taxes once elected. Or it may mean that he wants to leave his options open, which may amount to the same thing: A governor who has not taken the no-tax-hike pledge will face very strong pressure to raise taxes.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LONG LIVE THE (FLORENCE) KING IN

STET, Damnit!

The Misanthrope's Corner, 1991 to 2002

She's baaack . . . in all her misanthropic glory! Relive all the no-prisoner-taking in this must-have book: Order your copy direct from *NR* for only $29.95! FREE SHIPPING/HANDLING!

THE COMPLETE, UNABRIDGED, CURMUDGEONLY COLLECTION!

Yes, Florence King is back—in a big, spanking new hardcover book that will charbroil the cockles of every conservative, libertarian, and just-plain cynical heart. Take advantage of this special pre-publication opportunity: order your copies of ***STET, Damnit! The Misanthrope's Corner, 1990 to 2002***—it's available *only* through *NR*, at the very affordable price of just $29.95!

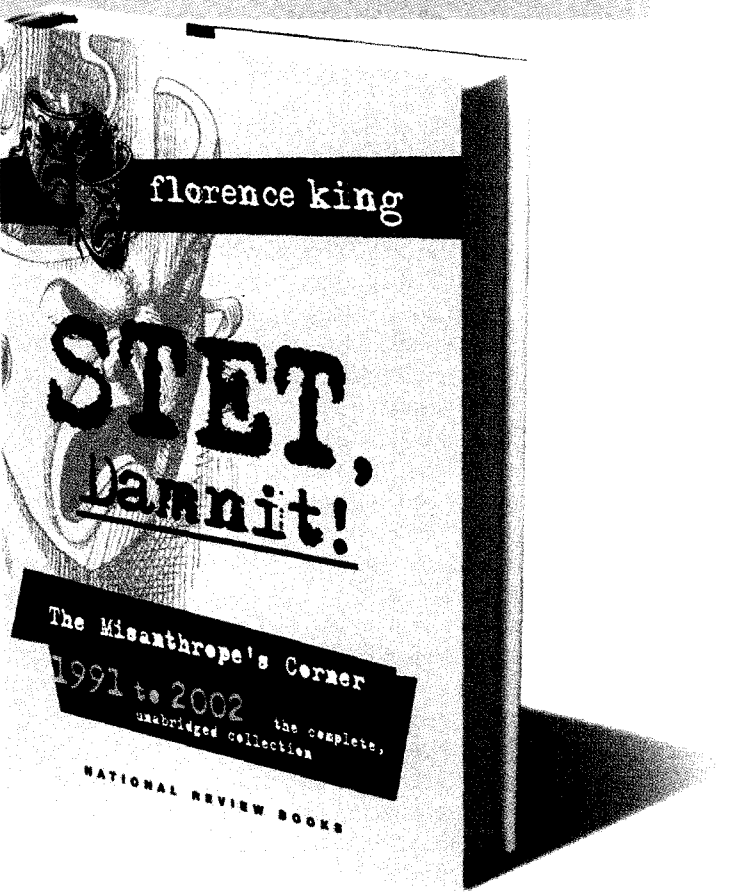
STET, Damnit! lets you relive and relish the unsurpassed prose of one of America's most heralded writers. Word for word, no one punched with the force of Miss King's clock-cleaning verbiage! During her *NR* tenure, no one but *no one* better derided dunderheads, disemboweled sacred cows, trashed trends, and lampooned the lame-brained. For over a decade her masterful prose was the proverbial two-by-four that smacked upside the thick heads of busybodies, chin-droolers, feel-gooders, store-greeters, plagiarists, teddy-bear memorializers, whiners, wanna-be victims, crisis-counseling apostles, and many more of society's more annoying types.

If you're missing that fortnightly Florence Fix since she penned her last *NR* column in September, 2002, despair not: Now all that superior commentary—all that crackling prose, all that slashing and burning, all that vim, vigor, and verbal vinegar—that made "The Misanthrope's Corner" a must-read has been collected—every single thoroughly enjoyable, eye-poking, nincompoop-poohing word—in ***STET, Damnit!*** This beautifully printed hardcover edition weighs in at some 528 pages of 200-proof pure-grain Florence, distilling every word from every column (including the typos we let slip through in the originals!) that the Mother of All Curmudgeons wrote for her back-page sanctuary of sanity.

STET, Damnit! is an amazing book. Florence's masterpieces still resound—even a dozen years later, no matter how "dated" the topic, Miss King's magic still dazzles. Her unorthodox and unexpected take on an array of subjects—politics, fads, court rulings, murderesses, scandals, recounts, you name it—remains crisp, fresh, insightful, intelligent, engaging, and always entertaining. The prose still snaps. The whip still lashes. And the sides will ache again from laughing!

Copies of ***STET, Damnit!*** will be available for shipment on October 15 (direct from the printing plant). Reserve your copies now via this special pre-publication offer and shipping and handling are **FREE**!

Treat yourself like a king by treating yourself to Florence King. Enjoy again the Queen of Spleen's distinctive take on the American heart, soul, and psyche, and her cheese-sharp reflections on a cavalcade of favored subjects: *Gone with the Wind*, Lizzie Borden, "phartlings" (a.k.a. "chilllllrun"), beloved Granny, royalty, Ignos, Duhs, Huggees, customer service boobs, and so much more. You'll enjoy Florence King as much, and *more,* the second time around in ***STET, Damnit!***



National Review • 215 Lexington Avenue • New York, NY • 10016

Send me _____ copies of ***STET Damnit! The Misanthrope's Corner 1991 to 2002***. My cost is $29.95 for a hardcover, copy (shipping and handling are FREE!). I enclose total payment of $_____. Send to:

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____

ZIP _____

(NY State residents must add sales tax.)

PAYMENT METHOD:

☐ Check enclosed (payable to *National Review*)

☐ Bill my ☐ MasterCard ☐ Visa

Acct. No. _____

Expir. Date _____

Signature _____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

That possibility, in turn, complicates the pragmatic case for Schwarzenegger. Would it really be good for Republicans to hold the governorship if it results in a tax increase and, in all likelihood, further economic pain for the state?

If McClintock were running as the sole Republican in the race, he might be doing rather well today; we can only speculate. But several polls put him well behind Schwarzenegger with two weeks left in the race. McClintock could cost Schwarzenegger the election. California conservatives seeking the prudent course must weigh two probabilities: 1) that their support for McClintock really would swing the race to Bustamante, and 2) that a Governor Schwarzenegger would better serve the long-term interests of conservatives than a Governor Bustamante. Conservatives of good will and clear thought will reach different conclusions about these matters.

If Schwarzenegger does not want McClintock to deprive him of the chance to be governor, he will have to deprive McClintock of the chance to be a spoiler. If Schwarzenegger offers conservatives a clearer indication that he is prepared to stare down the taxers and spenders in the legislature—and perhaps also to facilitate a McClintock bid for the Senate—conservatives will be able to give him their undivided support. If not, the spoiler for the Schwarzenegger campaign may well be the candidate himself.

notes & asides

■ Dear Mr. Buckley: Sometime during the 1980s, I began to wonder whom to invite if I could select five people who would accept a dinner invitation. In all these years I haven't come up with a complete list, which has recently caused me to set a condition on my search: The persons invited must all be living, which precludes considering such historical figures as the Apostle Paul and Thomas Jefferson.

I have at times considered that there may not be five people alive at any one time to complete a compelling enough list. But after 20 years of amusing and frustrating myself with the question, I have arrived at the following incomplete list of invitees: 1) my wife, and 2) you. I am still three people short.

If I were to ask you to help me round out the list, whom would you pick as the other three guests? Please take into consideration that I am strongly in favor of inviting President George W. Bush and Margaret Thatcher, but I don't insist on them if there are more compelling dinner guests, which is hard to imagine.

I will dutifully submit your recommendations to my wife, and knowing her sentiments about the sanctity of marriage, your wife had better be on the list, regardless of who else you choose.

We will pray before dining, and will be serving wine.

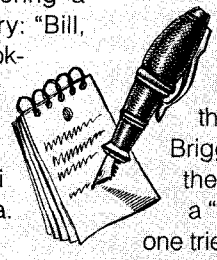
Cordially,
Donald Snedeker
North Plainfield, N.J.

Dear Mr. Snedeker: The trouble with such compositions is that we're left with the difficulty of how to allocate time and attention. Socrates played with the question in one of his dialogues—letting people talk themselves into irrelevancy, and then taking over what seemed an empty table. But thanks for thinking of me, and I defer to your wife.

Cordially, WFB

■ Dear Mr. Buckley: Some semi-pro journalists think that the expression "begs the question" means that some situation logically suggests a question. A few minutes of research in a good dictionary will show that it actually means to evade answering a question. To illustrate: Hilllary: "Bill, did you eat those last two cookies in the jar?" Bill: "Did you see me near the cookie jar?"

Yours for proper usage,
Frank Sgambelluri
Stroudsburg, Pa.



■ Dear Mr. Buckley: If one visualizes a nuke—directed toward you—one is most likely to call it "nukular"! If one visualizes a nucleus, one might be inclined to say "nuclear"! It is like res'piratory and respir'atory: My late husband insisted that it be "respir'atory," with the accent on the second syllable! Same difference! Why fuss?

Mrs. Ernest B. Smith
("Granny Smith," octogenarian)
Placerville, Calif.

Dear Mrs. Smith: How did your husband come in on tomayto/tomahto?

Cordially, WFB

■ Dear Mr. Buckley: While the broad areas over which one fights do change, basic principles do not. The marked distinction between conservatives and liberals, it seems to me, can be summarized in a single word: absolutes. Conservatives have absolutes: God's absolutes in the Scriptures for religious conservatives; the Constitution, Bill of Rights, etc., for purely political conservatives. Liberals' absolute principles are themselves: masters of their own futures, captains of their own souls! For them, the Scriptures offer mere guidelines and the Constitution is to be interpreted by their own shifting morality.

Gary C. Wharton
Grand Rapids, Mich.

■ Dear Mr. Buckley: One of the indicators that the Myers-Briggs tests purport to measure is the degree to which a person is a "thinker" or a "feeler." Has anyone tried to correlate this measure to people who are "liberal" or "conservative"? I would appreciate your opinion on this.

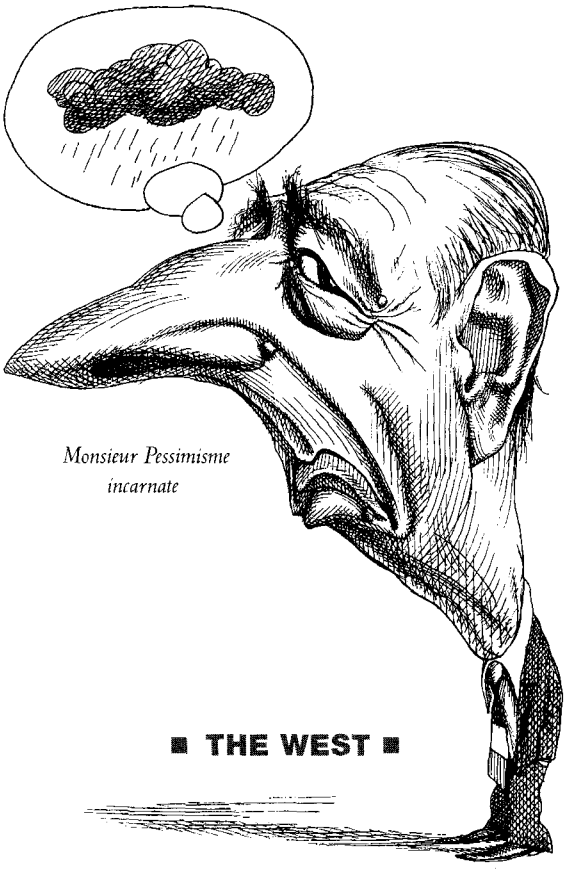
Neil J. Mahoney
Columbia, S.C.

Dear Mr. Mahoney: I know of no such study, but if my views were solicited, I'd call the liberal the dry-as-dust entry, drawn to collectivities and unplanted generalities.

Cordially,

—WFB

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Monsieur Pessimisme incarnate

An 'Ism' for All Seasons

Intellectuals and their camp followers have found a new ideology

PAUL JOHNSON

At the time when the Soviet empire collapsed in ignominy and the totalitarian system in Russia itself disintegrated, people asked: What will take its place in the minds of intellectuals and all those who believed in a utopia on earth? What "ism" would become paramount among the discontented of the West? We now know the answer: pessimism.

Communism was, in its origins, a critique of society, until it built monstrous societies of its own where criticism was not allowed. Pessimism too is a critique of society, also a habit of mind, an instinctive reflex, a paranoid psychosis, easy to acquire and to express, highly infectious, which can be made to apply to everything the established order does and produces.

Karl Popper, in his analysis of pseudo-scientific theories like Marxism and Freudianism, pointed out that their attraction lay in their apparent universality: They could be made to apply to almost any human event, collective or individual, providing explanations sufficiently coherent to satisfy educated people disinclined to inquire too deeply into difficult phenomena, and who merely want a quasi-religious creed in which to believe. Pessimism fits beautifully into this category. It applies to everything, simple or complex. It has coherency, consistency, and self-righteousness, and affords huge intellectual and emotional satisfaction to its believers.

It appeals particularly to the large number of people in modern society who emerge with credentials from our educational system but who may never acquire the money or power that free enterprise offers in such abundance to the imaginative and daring. Such people become teachers, in schools and universities, work in the lower ranks of government, national and local, are myriad in the media and entertainment, and, in their own way, are collectively important in forming opinion. University professors are the elite of this category, their success in academic pursuits giving them a high opinion of their own worth and importance. Yet, somehow, this is not reflected in their earning power, their ability to command men and women, and their control over events. Must there not be something fundamentally wrong with a society that gives such little practical recognition to their worth?

In the past, this feeling of outrage was expressed in the quest for an alternative society and a determination to build it through political or revolutionary action. That alternative has gone. No one believes in it anymore. The intelligentsia is stuck with the market system, the only one that works at all, because it fits in with human nature and all its imperfections. Forced to live with the market, but hating it all the same, unwilling prisoners (and beneficiaries) of a capitalism they cannot change but that is infinitely distasteful to them, they submit with relish to a pessimism that gives them relief from their feeling of powerlessness.

The case of the current war against terrorism is a perfect example of how the ideology of pessimism works. Opposition to terrorism, as such, is universally agreed. All agree it needs to be fought, somehow and in some way. But there agreement ends and pessimism takes over. Recall the sequence. First President Bush had no "evidence" that al-Qaeda was behind 9/11, still less that bin Laden was its mastermind. The pessimists wrung their hands at Bush's ignorant, intemperate, Texas-cowboy approach. Again, there was no "evidence" that al-Qaeda was linked to the Taliban. To attack the Taliban was a fatal error, sure to ignite

ROMAN GENN

Mr. Johnson is the British historian and journalist. His most recent book is *Art: A New History*.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

an incendiary Islam against America. To invade Afghanistan was a strategic error of incalculable consequences. The invasion begun, it was clearly going badly. After a week, a fortnight, it was already seen to be a failure. Then, the Taliban having unaccountably collapsed and fled, America faced an endless guerrilla campaign, "another Vietnam."

Iraq was a similar story. The war was strategically misconceived, relying too much on air power because Bush was unwilling to face the countless casualties a land war would involve. After a week, a fortnight, it had clearly gone wrong, and the allies would be engulfed in endless fighting in Baghdad and Basra, "another Stalingrad." Then Saddam's legions unaccountably melted away and the war was over. His statue was pulled down to applause. But pessimism, proved hopelessly wrong again, quickly closed ranks and went on the offensive. Looting, a sure sign of disaster for Bush. The entire contents of Iraq's Museum of Antiquities—a "priceless collection"—had vanished, an "unprecedented disaster for civilization." When it was found in the vaults, carefully hidden by its curators, there were "missing pieces" ruthlessly sold on an "international market." Then came terrorist acts against U.S. and British forces--yet "another Vietnam" on the way. No thought had been given to post-war Iraq. Thought had been given but it was all misguided. It would cost countless lives and unimaginable billions of dollars.

Such pessimism has taken an even stronger hold in Europe than in the U.S., for in Europe, pessimism, especially about Iraq, is the official policy of the German and, still more, French governments. President Chirac, for the time being at least, is Monsieur Pessimisme incarnate. There is much to be pessimistic about too. The French and German economies are in imminent danger of falling into the long-term stagnation that has enveloped Japan for a decade and a half, while America (and Britain) surges ahead. Monsieur Pessimisme cannot hold back the U.S. economy but he can make things as difficult as possible in Iraq by sabotaging any U.S. venture at the U.N. and spreading dismay in Europe and the Arab world.

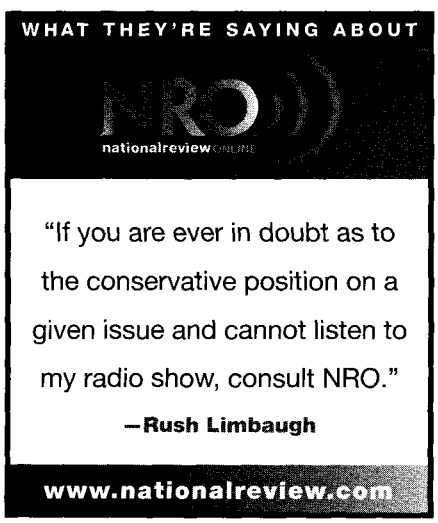
Pessimism does not confine itself to international politics. Its destructive effects bear on every aspect of human endeavor.

The culture of pessimism has taken hold of Britain's Labour party, though not its leader Tony Blair, by habit and temperament an ebullient optimist—one reason he gets on so well with George W. Bush. Behind Labour's pessimism is the British media, an engine of violent pessimism at the best of times, which has seized upon the situation in Iraq to produce a daily soap opera of woe. It has found a tragic-hero figure in one Dr. Kelly of the Ministry of Defence, an expert in chemical and biological weapons, the victim of acute depression who committed suicide, for reasons we do not know, or for no reason, earlier this year. Nothing is more foolish than to inquire into a suicide, as every coroner knows, but the government, in a moment of folly, has done just that, and set up a tribunal whose deliberations have dwelt lovingly on every dismal aspect of the Iraq war. This High Court of Pessimism filled the newspapers throughout the summer with bad news and gloomy reflections, all of which have tended to undermine the resolution and will of those in Britain, led by Tony Blair, to back George W. Bush in his defense of civilization against violent unreason.

But the culture of pessimism does not confine itself to international politics. Its destructive effects bear on every aspect of human endeavor. It seizes on incidents like the Enron affair, or the overpayment of the New York Stock Exchange chairman, to insist that capitalism and financial institutions are irredeemably corrupt and rendered satanic by huge greed. It points to the collapse of the talks at Cancún as damning evidence of a disastrous conflict between "have" and "have not" nations, which cannot be averted and must result in starvation and misery for hundreds of millions of people. It holds up the case of genetically modified crops as an instance of scientific madness that, far from making it easier to feed the world's undernourished, as sensible people believe, must instead lead to a catastrophe unless halted instantly.

The pessimists, from their redoubts in the media and the universities and the various world organizations and charities they have captured, wage propaganda wars against scientific advances and experiments of almost every kind, and prophesy plague and famine. "Global warming" has been their most successful exercise in Jeremiah strategy so far, persuading large numbers of nations—not, happily, including the United States—to reduce "emissions," that is, to put the brakes on their economies. Indeed, all the activities of the pessimists appear to have the common objective of slowing down the progress of the free-enterprise system in improving productivity and applying science to increase living standards throughout the world. Yet while doing all in their power to decelerate the wealth-producing process, the pessimists complain loudly that the poor are getting poorer.

There is always enough misery, failure, and unhappiness in the world to keep the pessimists in woeful high spirits. But if they had had their way, humanity would still be living in the Stone Age, if indeed it were still in existence. The fact is that hope is the energizer of men and women and optimism their natural condition. Time is on their side, as the whole history of human progress teaches, and in due course pessimism will go the same way as all the other dismal creeds. In the meantime, we need to exercise patience—in Iraq and everywhere else. **NR**

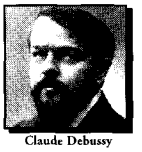

WHAT THEY'RE SAYING ABOUT
NRO
nationalreview ONLINE
"If you are ever in doubt as to the conservative position on a given issue and cannot listen to my radio show, consult NRO."
—Rush Limbaugh
www.nationalreview.com

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

How to Listen to and Understand Great Music

AT LAST... 48 brilliant recorded lectures that let you comprehend and enjoy great music more fully than ever before!

Arnold Schönberg

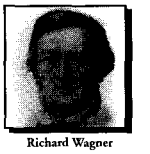

Claude Debussy

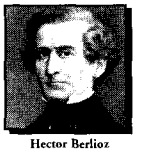
Giuseppe Verdi

Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart

Johann Sebastian Bach

Ludwig van Beethoven


Richard Wagner


Hector Berlioz

Bach: Planet Art. Debussy and Wagner: Music Division, Library of Congress. All other images: Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

Have you ever listened to a favorite piece of music and wanted to know more about it? Have you wondered what it would be like to truly *hear* music in the way the composer intended? Have you ever felt confused by musical forms, wondering what exactly distinguishes a symphony from a concerto, a minuet from a rondo?

Then you owe it to yourself to try **How to Listen to and Understand Great Music**, a 48-lecture course taught by Professor Robert Greenberg of San Francisco Performances.

Robert Greenberg is a popular lecturer whose work has been reported in *The Wall Street Journal* and other media outlets. He is the creator of the San Francisco Symphony's "Discovery Series." He has won three Nicola de Lorenzo Composition Prizes and three Meet-The-Composer Grants. He speaks frequently to both lay and academic audiences across North America and Europe, and is an award-winning composer with more than 45 works to his credit.

His engaging and informative lectures will soon have you hearing and enjoying music not just with your ears, but with your *mind!*

You can learn at home, on the highway, or even while you exercise, revisiting the subjects you loved best at school or taking on new ones.

With Dr. Greenberg's help, you'll come to understand the social, political, religious, and aesthetic dynamics that made up the world of Europe's great composers, and what those composers had to say about it—much as literature students study Shakespeare's England to more fully understand his works. In effect, then, the music itself becomes a "universal, non-verbal language" opening a unique window on the world in which the composers actually lived.

Dr. Greenberg presupposes no special knowledge, and provides a solid introduction to basic musical terms and elements.

He demonstrates each musical point either with his own piano rendition or with digitally recorded excerpts. Also, he conveys his vast knowledge not only with puckish wit and contagious passion, but in *plain English.*

Come walk with the giants of music history. Come hear and understand great music with a depth of understanding and enjoyment you never thought possible before.

A vast canvas of 10 centuries of Western concert music... illuminated in 48 witty and engaging lectures.

Part I: The Ancient World Through the Early Baroque *(Lectures 1-8)*

Part II: The High Baroque *(Lectures 9-16)*

Part III: The Classical Era I *(Lectures 17-24)*

Part IV: The Classical Era II and the Age of Revolution—Beethoven *(Lectures 25-32)*

Part V: Nineteenth-Century Romanticism *(Lectures 33-40)*

Part VI: From Romanticism to Modernism—1848 to 1913 *(Lectures 41-48)*

"Bob Greenberg's presentations on music are brilliant performances. The content, delivery and style combine the highest scholarship with ingenious metaphors and perfectly timed, and often irreverent, humor that results in an illuminating and thoroughly enjoyable experience for everyone from the expert."

RUTH FELT,
FOUNDER AND DIRECTOR,
SAN FRANCISCO PERFORMANCES

SAVE UP TO $520!
OFFER GOOD UNTIL NOV. 9, 2003

About The Teaching Company:

We review hundreds of top-rated professors from America's best colleges and universities each year. From this extraordinary group, we choose only those rated highest by panels of our customers. Fewer than 10% of these world-class scholar-teachers are selected to make The Great Courses. We've been doing this since 1990, producing more than 1,800 hours of material in modern and ancient history, philosophy, literature, fine arts, the sciences, and mathematics for intelligent, engaged, adult lifelong learners. If a course is ever less than completely satisfying, you may exchange it for another or we can refund your money promptly (excluding shipping).

To order, mail coupon below or call our toll-free number: (Please refer to Priority Code 14655)

1-800-TEACH-12 (1-800-832-2412) www. TEACH12.com/natr

THE Great Courses™
THE TEACHING COMPANY®
4151 Lafayette Center Drive, Suite 100
Chantilly, VA 20151-1232

Priority Code 14655

Please send me **How to Listen to and Understand Great Music**, which consists of 48 forty-five minute lectures, with complete lecture outlines.

- ❑ **DVD $179.95** (reg. price $699.95) **SAVE $520!** plus $25 shipping, handling, and guarantee.
- ❑ **Videotape $139.95** (reg. price $549.95) **SAVE $410!** plus $20 shipping, handling, and guarantee.
- ❑ **Audio CD $129.95** (reg. price $499.95) **SAVE $370!** plus $20 shipping, handling, and guarantee.
- ❑ **Audiotape $94.95** (reg. price $349.95) **SAVE $255!** plus $15 shipping, handling, and guarantee.
- ❑ **Check or Money Order enclosed**

**Non-U.S. Orders: Additional shipping charges apply. Call or visit the FAQs page at www.teach12.com for details.*
***Virginia residents please add 4.5% sales tax.*

❑ **Charge my:**
❑ VISA ❑ MasterCard ❑ DISCOVER NOVUS ❑ AMERICAN EXPRESS

ACCOUNT NUMBER _____ EXP. DATE _____

SIGNATURE _____

NAME (PLEASE PRINT) _____

MAILING ADDRESS _____

CITY/STATE/ZIP _____

PHONE *(If we have questions regarding your order)* _____

❑ **FREE CATALOG.** Please send me a free copy of your current catalog (no purchase necessary).

Offer Good Through: November 9, 2003

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

■ JUDGES

The Joy of Recess

An idea for countering Democratic filibustering

KATE O'BEIRNE

WHEN Miguel Estrada withdrew his nomination to the D.C. Circuit Court of Appeals—28 months after it was submitted to the Senate, where seven unsuccessful votes were held to try to break a filibuster—a triumphant Sen. Edward Kennedy proclaimed that he and his Democratic colleagues were more determined than ever to block other Bush candidates for the federal bench. Texas supreme-court judge Priscilla Owen and Alabama attorney general William Pryor are already being filibustered, and filibusters have been threatened against other nominees. The aim of Senate Democrats is to keep as many conservatives off the bench as possible. President Bush will lose this unprecedented battle of wills—unless he is willing to frustrate the Democrats' objective by making recess appointments of the most conservative candidates he can find. The fundamental qualification for these "apoplexy appointees"—who would serve on the bench only temporarily—should be their maddening effect on Ralph Neas.

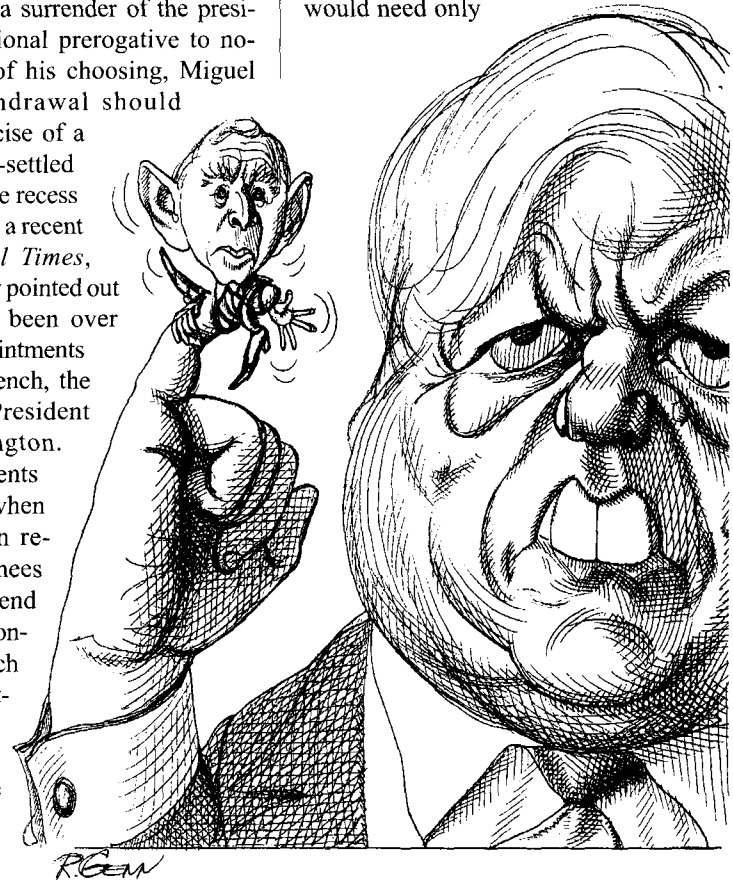
Frustrated conservatives look in vain to Senate Republicans to either a) prevail over filibusters by demanding round-the-clock sessions or b) prevent the filibusters against judicial nominees by changing Senate rules. To stage a successful all-night anti-filibuster effort would require that every single Republican senator be available all night—the narrowest imaginable margin of error. And a rules change is discouraged by some veteran conservative aides, who are concerned that permitting such changes at the hands of a simple majority would inevitably favor an emboldened Democratic majority in the future. And, in any case, the responsibility to restore the balance of power between the president and the Senate with respect to judicial nominees rests with the president.

The past months have made it clear that Senate Democrats are immune to embarrassment over the trumped-up charges they are using to defeat some supremely qualified nominees who enjoy the support of a Senate majority. While President Bush complained about the Senate's blocking of his nominees on the campaign trail last fall, there is no evidence that Democrats are concerned about political retribution. As long as the filibuster tactic succeeds in keeping conservatives off the bench, an increasing number of nominees will face the 60-vote hurdle. Nan Aron, president of the liberal Alliance for Justice, recently declared, "I think we are gaining momentum, Estrada has to be a lesson to the White House and to Bill Frist that their strategy of secrecy and lack of consultation is not succeeding."

President Bush should resolve to frustrate the Democrats' fundamental objective, and teach a lesson of his own. Rather than prompting a surrender of the president's constitutional prerogative to nominate judges of his choosing, Miguel Estrada's withdrawal should trigger the exercise of a president's well-settled authority to make recess appointments. In a recent article in *Legal Times*, Randolph J. May pointed out that there have been over 300 recess appointments to the federal bench, the first three by President George Washington. Such appointments can be made when the Senate is in recess, and nominees serve until the end of the congressional session in which they are appointed. Individuals appointed this year would serve until January 2005.

May recommends that President Bush appoint stalled nominees to the seats they are slated for and take the opportunity to make his case about the Democrats' indefensible obstruction. The outraged reaction of Senate Democrats and their liberal-activist masters would include the charge that temporary nominees contemplating eventual confirmation would lack the independence of life-tenured judges. May also admits that it's doubtful that candidates who hope ultimately to be confirmed would accept a controversial recess appointment.

The president could handily overcome these objections by choosing recess appointees from a wholly different pool of potential candidates. There is a plentiful supply of experienced, public-spirited conservative lawyers, including former judges, who would no doubt answer the call to pitch in temporarily to help shorthanded courts of appeals. The temporary appointments, of persons with no intention of being considered for life tenure, would make these nominees independent in their judgments, as they would have no need to curry favor with anyone. Acceptable nominees would need only

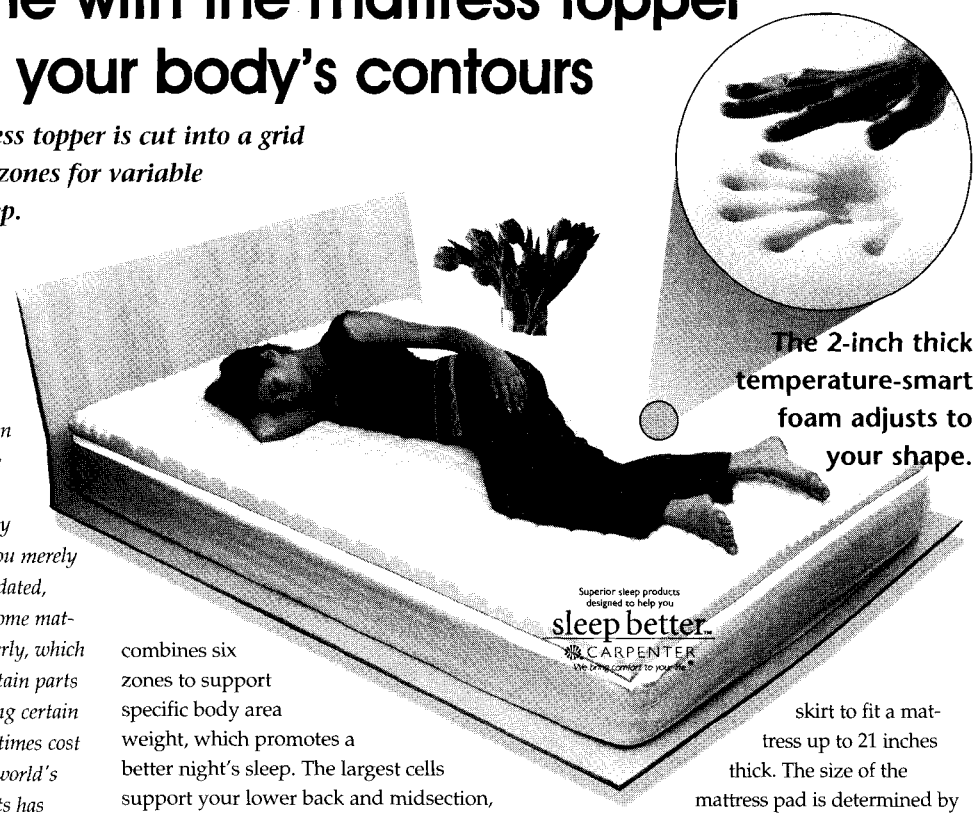


ROMAN GENN

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Get in the zone with the mattress topper that molds to your body's contours

The Memory Foam Ultra mattress topper is cut into a grid pattern combining six different zones for variable support and a better night's sleep.

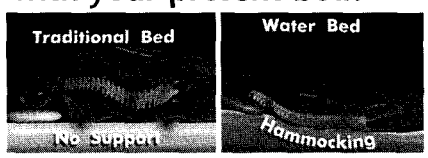


The 2-inch thick temperature-smart foam adjusts to your shape.

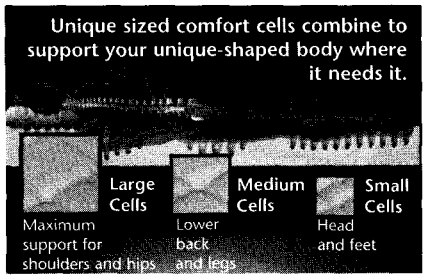
It's 3 a.m. You have exactly two hours until you have to get up for work, and you still can't seem to fall asleep. At this point, the phrase "tossing and turning" begins to take on a whole new meaning for people whose mattresses simply aren't giving proper support anymore. Your mattress may dictate your quality of sleep. Even if you merely suspect that your mattress may be outdated, that's when you need to take action. Some mattresses fail to support your spine properly, which can result in increased pressure on certain parts of your body. Other mattresses, sporting certain degrees of visco-elastic foam, can sometimes cost you well over $1000. Now, one of the world's leading manufacturers of foam products has developed an incredibly affordable mattress topper that can actually change the way you sleep. Introducing the future of a better night's sleep: The Memory Foam Ultra Mattress Topper.

Wake up to a better morning. The Memory Foam Ultra mattress topper is designed to give you a better sleep surface. Not only does it support each region of your body, but it's also temperature sensitive. With its various-sized "comfort cells," the 2-inch thick Memory Foam Ultra mattress topper combines six zones to support specific body area weight, which promotes a better night's sleep. The largest cells support your lower back and midsection, while the medium-sized cells support the shoulders, lower back and legs. The smallest cells support your head and feet. Combined, these zones provide variable support from head to toe. By using visco-elastic foam, the Memory Foam Ultra mattress topper also molds to your body contours to help prevent tossing and turning during the night. When you lie down on this amazing material, the heat and pressure sensitive foam reacts to your body's weight and temperature, so that it molds to your exact body shape. This means that whether you sleep on your back, stomach or side, your weight is evenly distributed and your spine remains in a neutral position. Other surfaces support your body at the shoulders, hips and legs only. This causes your spine to sag in other areas, which can often result in discomfort, and even back pain. You'll wake up rested, relaxed and ready to take on the day. Anyone who suffers from insomnia and back pain can benefit from this technology.

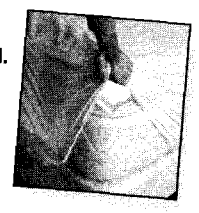
What could be wrong with your present bed?



The ideal position is a neutral body posture in which the different parts of the human body are supported individually and evenly. This is the secret behind Memory Foam Ultra, the mattress topper that turns any bed into the ideal sleep surface.


Unique sized comfort cells combine to support your unique-shaped body where it needs it.
Large Cells
Maximum support for shoulders and hips
Medium Cells
Lower back and legs
Small Cells
Head and feet

FREE heavyweight mattress pad included. Included with the Memory Foam Ultra mattress topper is a fitted mattress pad. It's heavyweight and quilted, and made of 200-count 100% cotton with a 15-inch deep stretchable skirt to fit a mattress up to 21 inches thick. The size of the mattress pad is determined by the size mattress topper you order.



Try it for yourself today! The Memory Foam Ultra mattress topper can change the way you sleep. Promote proper spine positioning, while enjoying relief from insomnia and back pain with this full-body support. It comes with a 5-year manufacturer's limited warranty and TechnoScout's exclusive in-home trial. If you are not completely satisfied, simply return it within 30 days for the full purchase price.

Memory Foam Ultra Mattress Topper:
2P-2870 **Sizes Twin through California King***
Prices starting as low as ~~$~~... 2 payments of .....$49.95 each + $12.95 S&H
FREE mattress pad—a $59.95 value!
Please mention promotional code 25374

For fastest service, call toll-free 24 hours a day

888-923-6684

**For mail-in orders, please call for individual cost of the various sizes along with shipping and handling. To charge it to your credit card, enclose your account number and expiration date.*
Virginia residents only—please include 4.5% sales tax.

LATEST...GREATEST...NEATEST...COOLEST
You can see hundreds of high-tech products at
www.technoscout.com

TECHNOSCOUT
1998 Ruffin Mill Road
Colonial Heights, VA 23834

All rights reserved. © 2003 TechnoBrands, Inc.

32664

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

one characteristic in addition to professional qualifications and a willingness to serve temporarily: They would have to meet the "apoplexy appointment" test, i.e., cause Sen. Charles Schumer to wake up screaming in the night at the prospect of their serving on a federal appeals court.

By defending presidential prerogatives, President Bush would also address the vacancy crisis on some of the federal appeals courts. The Judicial Conference of the United States has declared that 15 of the appeals-courts seats with pending nominations represent "judicial emergencies." The Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals, for example, has four vacancies on its 16-member bench, owing to the stubborn resolve of Michigan's two Democratic senators to block any Bush nominee as payback for the Senate's refusal to approve Clinton nominees to that court. Last year, it took an average of 16 months to resolve a case in the Sixth Circuit, compared with an average of 10.7 months in the other circuits. Sens. Carl Levin and Debbie Stabenow are insisting that Bush scrap his four nominees in favor of candidates approved by a bipartisan panel. The bickering over nominees to the Sixth Circuit has been going on for six years.

When the Senate next recesses, Bush should announce that he has appointed four individuals who will help the Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals with its caseload. One ideal candidate would be Lucille Taylor, a talented conservative lawyer who was former governor John Engler's legal counsel. She is a veteran of Engler's battles over his nominees to the Michigan bench; her appointment would thrill conservatives and enrage liberals. Lucille Taylor meets the test.

There are currently 19 vacancies on the circuit courts of appeals. If President Bush appointed a half-dozen staunch conservatives to serve temporarily, with the stated intent to keep making such recess appointments until his nominees for lifetime tenure no longer faced Senate filibusters, Democrats could be expected to abandon a tactic that has backfired. It's up to the president to restore the appropriate balance of power on judicial appointments—or explain to his frustrated supporters why he's unwilling to do so. **NR**

■ **CULTURE WATCH**

The Unlikely Superstar

Johnny Cash, up to Glory

DAVE SHIFLETT

According to the old musical formula, if you want to be a master bluesman you sell your soul to the devil—or you can sign on with God and play country. Johnny Cash took the latter path and it's safe to say he did pretty well with his bargain.

Indeed, the question often asked since his death on Sept. 12 is: "What made Johnny Cash so special?" He wasn't a particularly good singer or instrumentalist. He could put on a pretty good show, but there were times he didn't show up.

Yet he was undeniably a superstar, and by my accounting country music has produced only a couple, most notably Cash and Hank Williams. Both are known by people who do not listen to country music. Both have had massive influence across the popular-music world. Their songs are at the heart of the country repertory, and probably always will be.

Cash and Williams shared other characteristics: humble family and education credentials, drug addictions, failed marriages. Cash was eventually abandoned by the Nashville music industry; Williams might also have been ditched sooner or later, but there was no later in his life. (He died at 29 after a long stretch of profound excess.) But there's no doubting that Cash and Williams will be remembered long after Shania Twain's perfect tush has returned to dust.

What *was* their secret? Williams said he held the pen and God did the writing; Cash, too, was quick to credit the Good Lord with his good fortune. Cash's mother was the first person to suggest that the Almighty was directly involved in J.C.'s fate. After hearing her young son warbling at their Arkansas sharecropping farm, she said, "God has His hand on you." He was destined, Ma Cash believed, for musical greatness. That was a bold prediction: The Cashes were largely without cash, and Johnny could sing a bit, but only a bit. He didn't concentrate on guitar until years later, when he joined the Air Force and was shipped to Germany. He learned the standard chord progression—tonic, subdominant, dominant, with the occasional relative minor and major second—and began writing songs. He left the Air Force, started a family, and sold appliances door to door. None of this suggested a superstar in the making.

But Cash had his dream, and soon decided that he needed somehow to wrangle an audition at Sun Records, a small Memphis label. He had no contacts, so one morning he simply camped out on the Sun doorstep. Sam Phillips showed up for work, and because he had no other plans told Cash he'd give him and his two sidekicks a listen.

Cash's bass player later recounted the audition: "We were two auto mechanics and an appliance salesman"—and they sounded that way. But Phillips heard something he liked and signed the band. J.C. produced a few regional hits, including "Hey Porter" and "Cry, Cry, Cry," and in 1955 recorded "Folsom Prison Blues," probably his best-known song—though not his biggest seller, which was "A Boy Named Sue," whose lyrics were penned by poet Shel Silverstein.

Country music's power is based on something of a paradox. While the musical form is simple, the lyrics often take up Major Life Issues: death, love, treachery, faith, sin, hope, despair—sometimes all in the same song. If the voice is right—and Cash's gravel-rich baritone could gnaw on you—the effect can be chilling. So it was with Cash's most famous couplet, in which a downcast and somewhat repentant federal prisoner says he "shot a man in Reno, just to watch him die." This might not have been the kind of message Ma Cash had hoped for, but "Folsom" charted well.

Yet Cash was on the fast train to hell. He soon found himself in a prison of

Mr. Shiflett is a member of the White House Writers Group.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

his own making: a ferocious addiction to amphetamines and barbiturates. He missed concerts, wrecked cars, wasted away to nearly nothing, and finally destroyed his marriage. One day, in an apparently earnest pursuit of death, he climbed down into a Tennessee cave, where he hoped to perish. But instead of finding the Grim Reaper, Cash later recalled, he found himself in the presence of God, who informed him that He had other things in mind for him.

One hesitates to suggest exactly how the Great Ledger records the transaction, though it seems to have worked along these lines: Cash got his life back and in return he'd stand as an example of the restorative power of Christianity. With the help of second wife June Carter Cash, he rediscovered his Pentecostalist faith, and made it clear that the Good Lord had intervened in his woeful life—standing between Cash and his demon. The latter two would live a precarious coexistence. There would be backsliding. But J.C. had saved J.C., and that was that.

He 'kept his end of the bargain.'

BETTMANN/CORBIS

Cash was not a warm-spit believer. He and June sang for Billy Graham crusades and crusades put on by Graham's son, Franklin, lately infamous for suggesting that Islam is not much about the lion resting with the lamb. Cash sometimes brought a minister to concerts and concluded the show with an altar call. He baptized his sister in the Sea of Galilee, and in his last video, Jesus hangs prominently upon the bloody, telltale cross. Suffering is inevitable, Cash reminds us, but it is not the final word.

He was doing great work, but the Nashville music industry dropped him. To outsiders this may seem a strange turn of events. Doesn't country music bill itself as a stronghold of tradition and family values? And wasn't Cash a country-music legend? Yes, on both counts. But in this age of music videos, Nashville wants its stars to be young and buff. Merle Haggard might have famously observed that "Mama Tried," but once Mama passes about 30 or puts on a few pounds, she'd better try someplace else. In this same spirit, Nashville has pushed its aging practitioners out to sea.

Cash was set to drifting, but another intervention awaited him, this time in the form of Rick Rubin, a Los Angeles producer of rap and hard-rock music. Rubin, unlike the big boys in Music City, sensed that Cash had more to offer the world. He placed Cash and his guitar in front of a microphone and produced some of the best recordings of Cash's career. These recordings appealed not only to traditionalists but to young listeners as well. Seldom (one respectfully conjectures) has there been a grander day in music heaven than when a post-Grammy ad appeared in an industry magazine thanking the Nashville establishment for its support of Cash's career. The mocking ad featured a picture of a younger, angrier Cash flipping the bird.

The last years were hard. Disease had robbed him of most of his breath and manual dexterity, and after June died several months ago many friends knew Johnny's days were numbered. A few weeks ago he checked into Nashville's Baptist Hospital, and there he ultimately died.

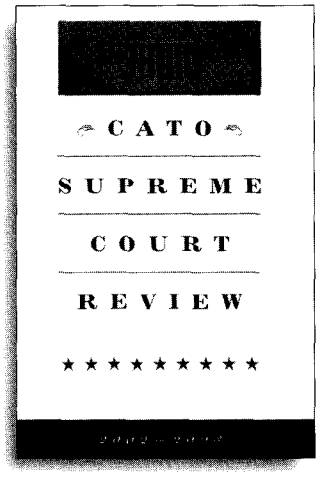
Cash had kept his end of the bargain. He sang his songs and gave the Lord the credit. You can't take the measure of the man without considering his religious bearing. At his funeral, daughter Rosanne Cash said he was "a Baptist with the soul of a mystic." Pop idol Sheryl Crow sang "The Old Rugged Cross." The only sour note, by some accounts, was struck by Al Gore, who seemed to forget who was at center stage. "I wish I could stand here . . . and tell you I was Johnny Cash's closest friend. I can't. I'm not a singer. I'm not a preacher. I'm just a recovering politician . . . who used to be the next president of the United States of America."

Johnny Cash has ascended to Glory. But the Lord's work is never done. **NR**

CATO INSTITUTE

NEW AND FORTHCOMING BOOKS

CIVIL SOCIETY • INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY
FREE MARKETS • LIMITED GOVERNMENT



Cato Supreme Court Review

The 2002–2003 Supreme Court term promises to be one of the most important of the last decade. The *Cato Supreme Court Review* analyzes the most important and far-reaching cases of the year from a classical Madisonian perspective. This edition will review, among other cases, affirmative action, sexual privacy, intellectual property, cross burning, commercial speech, and federalism. 250 pp./$15.00 paper ISBN 1-930865-52-X

Available at bookstores nationwide.
To order call 1-800-767-1241
or visit www.cato.org.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

■ COVER STORY

THE 'FLATLANDERS' AND THEIR KING

From Ethan Allen to Calvin Coolidge to Howard Dean . . . how sad

JONAH GOLDBERG

THE statehouse in Montpelier is pretty much what you'd expect: traditional Yankee colonial with a few bits of kitsch for the tourists. Portraits of fusty old Vermonters festoon the walls. Most are of former governors in funereal suits. Some of the old mustachioed grumps have sheets of parchment in their hands—probably containing rows of numbers reflecting profligate spending on some luxury item, food for poorhouses perhaps. There's even a portrait of the Sphinx of the Potomac, Calvin Coolidge. He looks every bit the taciturn Yankee.

Across and just down the small hallway there hangs another gubernatorial portrait; the subject's almost smirking at Silent Cal. But this painting is unlike the others. It looks more like the multihued cover of an L. L. Bean catalog. It depicts a man in an open-collared flannel shirt with dark khaki pants and sneaker-like hiking boots. He's sitting on a rock on the shore of a pond with a canoe paddle in one hand. With the exception of his ostentatiously shiny wedding ring, virtually every item on his person begs to have a page number pointing to where in the catalog you can find out if you can get it in Tuscan olive or burnt sienna. The man, of course, is Howard Dean and the painting's gaudy arrogance says a lot about the man and the state. Surely, prior governors have loved the great outdoors, too? Yet they understood when to put on a damn suit. Dean rejects such rectitude because Vermont no longer cherishes such traits; Vermont is no longer a state, it's a lifestyle choice.

To Old Vermonters Dean is a "Flatlander," which means he comes from outside the state. Specifically Dean hails from Park Avenue and East Hampton. But you could also say he comes from the 1960s. A classic liberal baby boomer and Yale graduate, Dean typifies what many call "the Flatlander invasion"—the massive influx of urban professional liberals who've taken advantage of Vermont's famous tolerance and don't-tread-on-me individualism and turned it into a whatever-floats-your-boat Epcot Center exhibit of Green Socialism.

"The Flatlander invasion represents perhaps the most complete case of internal American colonialism since the destruction of the Indian," says Hal Goldman, a historian and lawyer who's studied and worked in Vermont. "Hundreds of thousands of highly educated, well-off people invaded a state with a unique culture and history. They seized control of its resources and institutions, demeaned and destroyed the indigenous values of its people, altered the landscape, and drove many of the natives from their homes as a result of their activities. If this happened in Africa, the same people would call it colonialism. In Vermont it's called liberal chic. The colonists are arrogant, disrespectful, and hypocritical. And Howard Dean is their king."

This might sound like hyperbole to some, but for many in the state it's an article of faith. The backers of the short-lived "Take Back Vermont" campaign—launched in response to Howard Dean's signing of the civil-unions law—chose that name for a reason. Unfortunately, it's too late to take back Vermont. Today, the Flatlanders *are* Vermont and the old flinty Yankee remnant provides little more than ambiance for what is becoming a left-wing Colonial Williamsburg.

On two recent visits to the state I saw few of the Vermonters of yore. But I did see plenty of folks who looked like liberal foundation officers, university administrators, or editors of poetry magazines, all on their day off. Meanwhile, in Burlington, the state's largest city (pop. 40,000), drug addicts

Mr. Goldberg is editor-at-large of National Review Online.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and facially pierced ne'er-do-wells are certainly easier to find than flinty yeoman farmers. Indeed, Burlington is a classic "Latte Town"—one of those clever, crunchy, condescending college burgs crammed with students, and professors, with open-toed shoes and closed minds. The kids can name 50 different espresso drinks but not one reason to cut a tax, a tree, or their hair.

A friend who works for the Vermont GOP tells me, "Being liberal here carries the significance of what wearing the right clothes does on Sunset Blvd. in L.A.—those who are not liberal, like those who are not properly fashionable in L.A., are looked upon with disgust and bewilderment, except that liberals in Vermont truly believe that conservatives are evil."

ALTERNATIVE PARADISE

Visiting Burlington in 1997, David Brooks wrote for *The Weekly Standard*, "One of the striking things about [the town] is that it is relatively apolitical." Burlington was in effect a liberal Brigadoon, aloof from politics and representative of a "fundamental transformation in the American Left, the shift from the adversary culture to the alternative culture." When Brooks was there, the bookstores avoided political fare and he saw few bumper stickers.

Well, a lot has changed since 1997. The bookstores now front Noam Chomsky and Al Franken. There's no shortage of rallies, seminars, and petitions, all aimed to: stop the war, stop the occupation (of Iraq or Palestine), stop drilling in ANWR, stop the Patriot Act, stop This, stop That, and stop Everything Else. The day I visited I could sign up to join a protest in New Haven in order to show solidarity with the oppressed workers of Yale University. Political bumper stickers are now ubiquitous. "Impeach Bush" is popular, but my favorite was one I saw while driving along the campus of the University of Vermont: "The Road to Hell Is Paved with Republicans." You can also find it for sale at the Peace & Justice Center & Store on Church Street in the heart of downtown.

Why are things so different? Because there's a new president in town and the Flatlanders hate him. We've all heard stories of explorers or sociologists visiting peaceful societies where all the natives want to do is eat pleasant meals and warm themselves in the sun. Think of Margaret Mead in Samoa or, for that matter, David Brooks in 1997 Burlington. Of course, such stories always take a sharp turn. The savages weren't calm and peaceful *by nature*, they were merely in a calm and peaceful mood. And, well, moods can change. The gods can be offended. The king can be deposed. George Bush can "steal" an election. And, subsequently, these savages—call them Flatlanders—can get very, very angry.

"When Bush was *selected* as president," a young man in his early twenties wearing jeans and a faded puke-green T-shirt tells me at a Burlington coffeehouse, "politics became, like, really interesting. I mean in a bad way. You know, the war, the environment. Politics is really important now." Though he clearly hated Bush, this young man saw himself as a moderate on the issue—and he was right. Burlington's alternative paper has a penchant for comparing Bush *unfavorably* to Adolf Hitler. Sitting along Church Street having lunch or drinking coffee, I overheard plenty of conversations about politics and all of them seemed to start from the premise that George Bush eats kittens.

Coincidentally, one of the most popular bumper stickers in Burlington is an aphorism from Margaret Mead herself: "Never doubt that a small group of thoughtful, committed citizens can change the world." In every sense and at every level this could be the credo of the Flatlanders. Just look at Vermont's biggest export: awful politics. Without a doubt, Vermont's delegation is the most obnoxious in Washington. There's Rep. Bernie Sanders, an avowed socialist who merely caucuses with the Democratic party because it is the less right-wing of the two major parties. There's Sen. Patrick Leahy, who by acclamation is now considered the most arrogant and nasty Democratic senator serving today. And, of course, there's Sen. Jim Jeffords, who insisted that he was breaking with Vermont's traditional Republicanism for reasons of "high principle." Two years later, what that principle was remains as unknown as the identity of Nicole Brown Simpson's "real killers." What is known is that Vermont wants its voice in Washington to represent its new values.

SOCIALISM FOR EXPORT

Consequently the Vermont delegation bangs its spoons on their highchairs better than any other. Sure, Sanders is some-

Pulliam 2004

GANNETT

The Pulliam Journalism Fellowship

Jump-start your newspaper journalism career with a solid program that boasts four Pulitzer Prize winner among its alumni—the Pulliam Journalism Fellowship. The Fellowship offers myriad career opportunities; in fact, a Pulliam Fellow from our first class of 1974, Barbara Henry, now serves as president and publisher of *The Indianapolis Star.*

Now entering its 31st year, the 2004 Pulliam Journalism Fellowship helps build a bridge from the classroom to the newsroom. Fellows are assigned to *The Indianapolis Star* or *The Arizona Republic* in Phoenix for 10 weeks each summer as staff reporters. We award 20 Fellowships annually. The stipend is $6.500.

Our Fellowships are open to college sophomores, juniors and seniors pursuing a career in newspaper journalism. We will be accepting applications for our Summer 2004 program as of September 2003.

Visit our Web site at htt://www.indystar.com/pjf or e-mail Fellowship director Russell B. Pulliam at russell.pulliam@indystar.com for an application packet. You also may request a packet by writing:

Russell B. Pulliam, Director
The Pulliam Journalism Fellowship
P.O. Box 145
Indianapolis, IN 46206-0145

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

thing of a joke, but as such he gets more play—decrying NAFTA and the like—in the national media than he would as just another marginal Democrat. Meanwhile, remember, Jeffords alone scuttled President Bush's agenda for nearly two years. Leahy alone has scuttled much of the president's judicial agenda (and before that he bollixed up Reagan's foreign policy). And, together, they've managed to impose a Northeast dairy subsidy that makes milk more expensive for poor kids—solely to preserve Vermont's Sweden-like economy.

Of course Jeffords & Co. are merely trying to do in Washington what the Flatlanders did in Vermont. For example, Act 250, passed in 1970, is widely recognized as a watershed moment in Vermont history. Its supporters claim it saved Vermont from vaguely defined ecological doom. Its critics claim it is an attempt to make the state hospitable to red-diaper babies from New York and gay couples whose idea of farming is renovating a barn so they can appear in *Architectural Digest*. The gauntlet of regulations developers need to go through in order to receive a permit for just about anything is similar to the barrage of kicks and punches gang members receive when they try to leave the gang. The only difference is that with gangs, each member gets only one whack at the victim as he passes by. Act 250 requires building-permit seekers to comply with ten different criteria—environmental, social, and aesthetic—and there's no end to the appeals environmentalists and spoilers can level on any of these fronts.

In 1993 the National Trust for Historic Preservation designated the entire state of Vermont an "endangered historic place."

This is less surprising when you realize Vermont serves as a madrassa for eco-jihadists. Environmental groups, politicians, and the University of Vermont's mammoth environmental-sciences department work together to unleash wave after wave of young Luddites on the country. It's a symbiotic system. Not only are the kids indoctrinated into environmental wackiness generally, they are also incorporated into Vermont's politics. The Vermont Progressive party dominates Burlington politics and pulls statewide politics well to the left. One secret of its success is that they organize left-wing students to vote in local elections. For obvious reasons, these kids don't care a whit about property taxes. They just want to make Vermont an alpine kibbutz. Also, older limousine liberals from the media and government have vacation homes in Vermont. They don't care about most local issues either; all they know is that environmental regulations make pads like theirs more scarce and therefore more valuable and that Vermont is awful pretty so someone must be doing something right.

Against this backdrop, it's not shocking that Dean's not considered a loony liberal by the locals: He's seen as a fiscal technician. Dean's own spin is that he's a pragmatist who's impatient with "ideologues." But the truth is he disagrees with ideologues of the Left over means and ideologues of the Right over ends. He'll casually dismiss opponents of affirmative action as "racists" and critics of his policies as demagogues and fools.

The secret to understanding Dean is that he's the candidate of Flatlanders everywhere.

Add to that Vermont's onerous tax burden and one can understand why the only businesses that aren't leaving the state are the ones that have to remain—i.e., ski resorts, boutique "Made in Vermont" franchises, nutty liberal law firms. Sanders can become a shower of spittle over the jobs Vermont has lost to Mexico and China, but most of Vermont's manufacturing jobs are leaving for New York, New Hampshire, and North Carolina. In 2002, the furniture company named after Vermont's hero—Ethan Allen—paid property taxes in Vermont that were 33 percent higher than the taxes it pays on five of its plants in New York, Virginia, and North Carolina *combined*. When IBM opted to open a new plant in Fishkill, N.Y., rather than invest in Vermont, the *Burlington Free Press*, generally considered pro-business, editorialized: "Even die-hard supporters of economic development sighed in relief when IBM announced its new chip plant would be built in New York State. Had the jobs come here, there would have been no place for workers to live."

The sad irony of the eco-hoopla is that the environmentalists won a long time ago. In 1850, Vermont was 35 percent forested; today it's 76 percent and rising. Presumably those who attended an 1838 conference in Manchester entitled "Keeping Unspoiled Vermont Unspoiled" would consider that a success. But the Flatlander liberals certainly wouldn't. Local activists have convinced the legislature and the national environmental movement that the state is one Wal-Mart away from becoming a strip mall.

Worse, Dean actually believes that Vermont—the second smallest state, with a population smaller than Baltimore's and whiter than Stockholm's, and with almost no industry or crime—is a model for the nation. Dean insists his child health-care system—which is largely an accounting trick—can be exported to the whole country. He claims that Denmark is more technologically advanced than the United States because it gets 20 percent of its power from windmills. His foreign-policy views stem from his experience as a regular guest host on Canadian public-affairs programs and from determining which lines get Bush-hating crowds the most worked up.

Indeed, the secret to understanding Dean is that he's the candidate of Flatlanders everywhere. He raises money from them on the web and he appeals to them in television ads in Austin, Texas, and Portland, Ore. Says my Vermont GOP friend: "It's not the least bit surprising that such a candidate would have been the governor of Vermont for twelve years. Dean's attitude toward Bush—arrogant, snide disgust and condescension—is an act performed thousands of times a day in Burlington. Liberal Vermonters feel superior to the rest of the country." So do liberals in Hollywood and New York and many points between. And that's why they are rallying to the banner of the Flatlander King. **NR**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

■ TURTLE BAY

The U.N.: Now Less Than Ever

There must be a way out

ROGER SCRUTON

An American, looking back over the recent conflict with Iraq, is likely to wonder how it is that a petty tyrant could have defied the world for so long, despite the determination of the United States to unseat him. The answer is to be found in the institution designed to ensure that negotiation will replace force in the dealings between states: the United Nations. For a while, the U.N. was out of the conflict. And during that time something at last was done. Then the U.N. came back—not thanked by the terrorists for covertly backing them, but, in Baghdad, becoming a victim of one of their most cowardly and despicable crimes. And once again the U.S. may be succumbing to the illusion that it cannot act legitimately without the U.N.'s approval. It is worth asking ourselves, therefore, how U.N. decisions are made.

Ambassadors to the U.N. are sent by the people who have obtained power, by whatever means, in the territories recognized by that body as sovereign. In effect, the U.N. simply legitimizes whatever elites and tyrants have gained power over the particular nations named in its list. Hence it has helped Arab despots to stay in power long after they would have fallen in a world that refused to recognize their legitimacy. When Syria can be a member of the Security Council, and when the U.N. commissioner on human rights can be appointed by Colonel Qaddafi, even the most resolute defender of the U.N. institutions might begin to wonder whether everything had gone according to plan. Add to such anomalies the well-documented corruption of the U.N. bureaucracy, and the seeming ineffectiveness or counter-productivity of U.N. resolutions in settling the conflicts of recent decades, and it is understandable that people should have begun to question whether we should go along with an institution whose claim to our respect is founded in so much wishful thinking and so few real achievements.

UNPLEASANT AT THE CREATION

The United Nations emerged in the wake of a world war in which the victor powers were anxious to ratify their victory and to ensure that the balance of forces then achieved would not be disturbed. Although one of those powers—the Soviet Union—had shown scant respect for such niceties as law, negotiation, compromise, territorial sovereignty, and human rights, the illusion prevailed that the Soviet Union would simmer down in time, to become a normal member of the community of nations. The fact that it was not a nation, and had even managed to elevate one of its constituent nations—the Ukraine—to independent membership in the General Assembly, was overlooked in the interests of diplomacy.

Since that time, things have changed in two very radical respects. First, the Soviet Union has collapsed, leaving the Russian Federation in possession of its ill-gotten corner of the Security Council. Second, new powers have emerged in the world, which claim neither legal authority nor territorial sovereignty, but which simply exert their force wherever they can, and in defiance of all who would oppose them. Major threats to peace and stability in the modern world come from terrorist organizations that, by their very nature, can play no part in the dialogue of nations that the U.N. is supposed to represent. Of course, the sovereign powers could do much to control such organizations, by refusing them any kind of recognition, attacking their sources of funds, and outlawing them within their respective territories. But it is only since September 11 that even the U.S. has thought of doing such a thing, and U.N. conventions on asylum and refugees operate in any case to guarantee protection to terrorists in just about every country where they do not commit their crimes. Indeed, it is thanks largely to U.N. conventions that terror networks have been able so easily to internationalize themselves.

Hence it is no longer important for terrorists to gain control of a sovereign territory. Power can be achieved and deployed more effectively without assuming the burdens of the nation-state. Terrorists used to aim at obtaining sovereignty, as Lenin and Hitler did. Even the IRA (in its original form) was aiming for such an outcome. Increasingly, however, terrorists use sovereignty purely as a mask, either by imposing themselves as guests on sovereign states to whose future they are more or less indifferent—like al-Qaeda in

Among Mr. Scruton's many books are ***The West and the Rest: Globalization and the Terrorist Threat*** *and* ***The Meaning of Conservatism.***

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Afghanistan—or by establishing global networks that can evade all national jurisdictions, while freely operating anywhere.

For these reasons it is impossible to believe now, even if it was possible to believe before, that the U.N. contains the institutions and procedures that can guarantee world peace. The principal terrorist factions are not represented in the U.N., and those states that harbor terrorists cannot be effectively coerced by the sanctions that the U.N. is able to apply to them. As the experience of Iraq demonstrates, U.N. sanctions hurt populations but increase the power of elites, who can always evade the impact of punitive measures on their own lives—and who can in fact use them to widen the gap between the power that they enjoy and the enfeebled masses over whom they wield it. Furthermore, the end of the Cold War has not abolished the distinction between those powers that wish to use the U.N. to establish legal order and human rights, and those that see law and rights as a threat to their dictatorship.

One may be skeptical of the utopian ambitions of those who drafted the Charter; one may even acknowledge the dangers to stability in a declaration of "human rights" that claims precedence over all local jurisdictions and all inherited ideas of legal order. Nevertheless, the fact remains that conventions upholding human rights can be incorporated without pain into Western legal systems, since those systems are instruments for defining and protecting rights. That, however, is the legacy of Roman law, Christianity, and the common-law jurisdictions of medieval Europe. Elsewhere no such legacy exists, and the continuing insistence on human rights falls on deaf ears. This means that, while U.N. resolutions and sanctions will guide the conduct of Western states, they will be ineffective against those states which in fact pose the most serious threat to peace. For they will be demanding a change of political order that cannot be effected without removing from power those who are supposed to be bringing it about.

The U.N., to put it bluntly, shows the error of optimism when addressing the real conflicts of human beings. The experience of world war notwithstanding, those who drafted the Charter were inspired by an abstract liberal philosophy that sees the end of government as the maintenance of human rights. They refused to countenance the possibility that government is more a device for controlling base instincts than a means to foster noble freedoms. The necessary gloom and misanthropy, without which no serious government is possible, failed to visit those who were planning the "world after fascism," and the result was a set of "mind forged manacles" (to borrow from Blake) that tied the hands of peace-loving people while leaving the villains scot-free. Hence the U.N. has acquired the habit of substituting liberal pieties for hard-headed judgments when faced with the serious threat of war. Its institutions and bureaucracies give sanctimonious Scandinavians of the Hans Blix variety their longed-for opportunity to put us all in our place, and its secretaries-general are usually more anxious to preserve their reputation as moral figureheads than to dirty their hands with violent actions, however necessary they may be.

THE DECISIVE EXAMPLE OF IRAQ

Without exception the European opponents of the Iraq war invoked the U.N. as the authority for their claims that British and American intervention was "illegal." This spurious invocation of a legality recognized by no member of the U.N. apart from the few who are intrinsically obedient to it, has been used to solidify an anti-American posture toward the world, and an exaltation of the "European way" as the way of law, as opposed to the American way, which is the way of force. As Robert Kagan has pertinently argued in *Of Paradise and Power*, the rhetorical dichotomy between virtuous Europe, pursuing solutions through international law, and vicious America, imposing solutions by force of arms, is fast becoming internalized by European elites as a way of painting their inability to act as an exalted refusal to act. Without the U.N. this posture would be seen for the priggish nonsense that it is. The fact is that U.N. resolutions concerning the real threats to world peace have been ineffective, or effective only when they have coincided with American resolve to do something, as in Bosnia.

The U.N. was invented by people steeped in the ethos of the nation-state, and it is designed to resolve conflicts between such states. It erects into a transnational goal the notion of a rule of law—a concept that rests on the particularly Western view of sovereignty as based on territory rather than faith or ideology. And there is no doubt that nation-states that subscribe to the U.N. Charter are on the whole eager for legal solutions to conflicts, and for a shared obedience to an "empire of laws." That is why the U.S. and Canada can exist peacefully side by side. Elsewhere, the search for legal solutions may often be little more than a sham. Syria's occupation of Lebanon certainly shows how a conflict may be resolved: but it was a conflict caused by the party that solved it, and the solution was conquest, in which the sovereignty of Lebanon was effectively extinguished by an occupying army.

U.N. resolutions and sanctions will be ineffective against those states which pose the most serious threat to peace.

This is the way conflicts in the Middle East tend to be settled. For how can a state be trusted to seek legal solutions when it is not itself governed by law, but only by factional interests under a resolute dictatorship? Hence, to grant equal status in the U.N. to dictatorships like Syria, Libya, and Sudan on one hand and nation-states in the Western mold on the other is to put an obstacle in the way of negotiated solutions.

But that leads naturally to the question of whether we need the U.N. at all. And if we do, in what form? When we ask such a question it is interesting to note that "we" denotes the Western powers. We are not asking whether the world needs this institution, or even whether the Third World needs it; we are asking whether it adds anything to the peacekeeping efforts that we, the nation-states of the world, are engaged in. As for those other states—dictatorships, totalitarian regimes, theocracies, and failed states—we have little confidence in their commitment to peace, and certainly little con-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cern to advance their interests. The question in our mind is always whether the U.N. is a useful means of dealing with them, not whether it gives them any means of dealing between themselves. And the example of Iraq suggests that it is no longer useful. U.N. sanctions proved ineffective, and the Security Council and General Assembly combined to delay the necessary military action to the point where it was far more costly than it should have been. By impeding the first President Bush from pursuing Gulf War I to its logical conclusion, the U.N. ensured the repression and massacre of those involved in the uprisings at Basra and elsewhere. By failing now to endorse President Bush's pressing decision of *Realpolitik*, it has made the task of reconstructing Iraq and winning the confidence of its people so much the more difficult. Its effect on the whole decision-making process, in short, has been negative.

But there is another, more dangerous effect of the United Nations, one that is insufficiently pondered by our politicians. Both the U.N. and many of its ancillary and subordinate institutions have legislative powers. They can use the original force of the Charter to bind national legislatures to measures that may be profoundly against the national interest. These measures will often be a huge burden to law-abiding states but no burden at all to dictatorships. Yet the dictatorships have as much right to press for them as the law-abiding states. In effect, the lawless have acquired, through the U.N., the power to bind the law-abiding in chains that they themselves escape.

One pertinent example is the U.N. convention on refugees and asylum, adopted in 1951, which obliges every signatory to offer asylum to those fleeing from persecution. This means that Western states, which are bound by their own laws, are forced to admit hundreds of thousands of unwanted immigrants every year, simply because well-briefed lawyers invoke the convention on asylum on the immigrants' behalf. Most of these immigrants stay, even when their claims to asylum are exposed as bogus. The result, in Europe, is a demographic crisis that threatens to rock the foundations of domestic policy.

Of course, the dictatorships don't have any problem in accommodating asylum seekers: They have never had any. On the contrary, the convention on asylum enables dictators to export their opponents without earning the bad name that would come from killing them. The entire cost of the convention is borne by the law-abiding states, whose legal systems, moreover, are jeopardized by the increasing number of people who settle within the jurisdiction while acknowledging no loyalty to the nation-state that is founded on it. The worst of our Islamist agitators in Europe are also people who have been granted asylum from the regimes whose violence they import.

The example is of vital concern to all of us in Europe. And it shows the way in which the grant of legislative powers to a transnational body poses a serious danger to the nation-state. Delicate matters, over which our legislators and judiciary have expended decades of careful reflection and decision-making, are thrown into instant disarray by a measure imposed on us by fiat. Like the EU, the U.N. confronts its members at every juncture with an absolute choice: Accept the edicts, or leave the club. By leaving the club, Western nations will free themselves from the burden of transnational legislation. They can then rebuild through bilateral treaties the kind of international relations that protect their sovereignty. **NR**

■ **AT WAR**

Iraq As It Stands

There is good news, and bad news, and a country given a chance

AMIR TAHERI

As millions of Iraqi children start a new school year, they face two uncertainties. The first: Will enough of their teachers show up in the classrooms? The Ministry of Education has appealed to all teachers to be present at their posts—but many, associated with the Ba'ath, the former ruling party, have gone into hiding for fear of being taken to task by people who suffered under the fallen regime. The second: What kind of textbooks will be used? Under Saddam Hussein the principal goal of all education was to worship the despot. A phrase that adorned most textbooks simply stated: Learn the instructions of the Leader and all science shall be yours!

Nevertheless, there is also one certainty: The thick fog of fear that hung over all schools, indeed all Iraq, under Saddam has been lifted. This year there will be no mysterious disappearances from the classroom. No teachers and pupils will be found dead in the school doorways. There will be no suspicious characters dropping in during lectures to sit in the back row as the eyes and the ears of the Mukhaberat (secret police). Teenage schoolgirls will not be abducted and taken to one of the many harems maintained by Uday, Saddam's sadistic elder son, and other apparatchiki of the regime.

Anyone who knew Iraq before liberation and who visits the country now is immediately struck by the impact that the feeling of freedom has had on almost everyone. A society where people hardly spoke to one another, let alone to strangers, is bustling with talk, debates, disputes, and demonstrations for every cause under the sun. Thousands of banned books are on sale in the streets, and over 200 new newspapers and magazines have started publication. People are no longer afraid to turn on their radios and TVs as loud as they wish; there is no Mukhaberat to eavesdrop on what they are hearing or watching.

KEEPING THE PEACE

And yet, Iraq still faces a number of major challenges. The liberation phase was completed with remarkable ease and minimal human and material loss, largely because few Iraqis wanted to fight for their oppressor. The regular army almost never entered the war. The various parallel armies set up by Saddam Hussein

Mr. Taheri is the author of ten books on the Middle East and Islam.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

also proved unreliable. "We had enough men and arms to put up a decent fight," says Gen. Toumah Abbas, a former chief of staff of the Iraqi army. "But no one wanted to fight; there was nothing worth fighting for." Iraq is now passing through the phase of pacification. That phase, too, is nearing completion in many parts of the country. In some areas, pacification efforts are threatened by criminal elements linked to the fallen regime. In a dozen or so towns, well-organized bands of thieves, smugglers, black-marketeers, and racketeers are taking advantage of the lack of adequate police coverage to rob and loot not only public buildings but also private homes and shops. Since the mid 1990s, bandits, backed by local tribes, have been active in some segments of the western Iraqi desert. The dissolution of the army, and the disappearance of all police presence, means that these bandits are now able to operate with almost total impunity.

Another threat to pacification comes from diverse elements opposed to liberation. Some remnants of the Ba'ath have regrouped and are engaged in a campaign of murder and sabotage in parts of the Sunni Triangle to the north of Baghdad. But there are also disgruntled elements in some former garrison towns such as Fallujah, Ba'qubah, and Ramadi that had benefited from the largesse of the Ba'athist regime. To these must be added some elements of the 20 or so Arab and Islamist terrorist organizations that had been sheltered by Saddam Hussein since the mid 1970s. The capture of some of their leaders by the U.S.-led coalition in Iraq has not deterred these groups; it has persuaded them, rather, that their best chance is to help the remnants of the Ba'ath in making life difficult for "the occupiers." Several hundred Islamist militants who have infiltrated Iraq from Syria, Iran, and Saudi Arabia also contribute to the current level of violence in Iraq.

But the threat of all those elements should not be exaggerated. Since early May, Iraq has witnessed 29 attacks that could be described as terrorist. Of those, 22 took place in just five localities. Some, such as the blowing up of the Jordanian embassy and the U.N. office in Baghdad, were spectacular. That said, Iraq—judged by Middle Eastern standards—is still way down the Richter scale of terrorism. More important, the various groups that threaten pacification are not growing in number or resources. Although the coalition lacks enough forces to devote to search-and-destroy operations, many terrorists and saboteurs are tracked down and neutralized each day. Almost 90 percent of the acts that threaten pacification have taken place in less than 5 percent of Iraqi territory.

If all goes relatively well, pacification will be completed by the end of the year. The coalition then will face two other crucial tasks: reconstruction and democratization. Physical reconstruction efforts so far have been modest, limited mostly to private citizens rebuilding their homes, workshops, and stores. Hundreds of contracts, big and small, worth billions of dollars have been granted or negotiated. But five months after liberation there is still no agreement even on the basic economic rules of reconstruction. On democratization, too, a start has been made, with the establishment of a Governing Council and a Council of Ministers. A new constitution is being drafted. Over 40 political parties, old and new, are getting organized. The first free trade unions, professional associations, and guilds are taking shape.

Although Iraq is by no means out of the woods—it would be surprising if it were, after 35 years of the most vicious rule in the region's modern history—the transition from liberation to democratization is assured. The greater hope is that Iraq will become a model for democratization for Arabs, and Muslims in general. The removal of the Ba'athist regime in Baghdad has changed the political architecture of the Middle East, opening new opportunities for peace—and for a positive Iraqi role on the global energy scene.

SHAKING UP THE REGION

The impact of change in Iraq is already being felt throughout the region. Since 1980, when Saddam's army invaded Iran to start a war that would last eight years, Iraq has been unable to play its full role in regional politics. Saddam's invasion of Kuwait in 1990 deepened Iraq's isolation. Iraq was shut out of the Gulf Cooperation Council, the six-nation organization created by Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, with the participation of four smaller petro-emirates, to coordinate key aspects of their economic and defense policies. Excluded from the Arab League for some six years, Iraq also lost its voice in the broader council of the Arab nations.

Although Iraq is by no means out of the woods, the transition from liberation to democratization is assured.

Under a new regime, Iraq could quickly regain its position as a major regional player. A democratic Iraq could find itself the natural leader of a small but growing group of Arab states that have taken timid steps toward democratization. Countries such as Jordan, Oman, Qatar, Bahrain, the United Arab Emirates, and even Kuwait—all of which have developed new systems based on some form of elections—could find themselves closer to a new democratic Iraq than to a Saudi Arabia that rejects all forms of elections as a matter of principle. The group could be joined by Yemen, which has held at least two reasonably clean general elections.

The new Iraq might also balance the power of Ba'athist Syria, which seems to be backtracking on the reform project initially presented under President Bashar al-Assad. It is not far-fetched to suggest that change in Iraq will, in time, be followed by change in Syria, as has actually always been the case since the 1950s. The new Iraq will almost certainly revive Baghdad's traditional opposition to the Syrian domination of Lebanon. Since any future Iraqi government is likely to include a strong Shiite element, Iraq is likely to become the key Arab player in Lebanon, where Shiites form the single largest community.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The return of Iraq to regional politics would break the duopoly established by Egypt and Saudi Arabia within the so-called Arab world. Iraq, which has the world's second largest oil reserves, could match Saudi Arabia in terms of economic clout. In terms of population and the deployment of an intellectual elite, it could emerge as a serious challenger to Egypt's current dominant position among the Arabs. And it is not only Iraq's Arab brethren who will be affected by the regime change in Baghdad: The new Iraq has already recognized full national rights for the Kurds, an action that will reverberate in Iran, Turkey, Syria, and Armenia—which have all oppressed their ethnic Kurds, albeit in different ways.

Iran, where Shiites account for some 88 percent of the population, is already affected by the possibility of a democratic pluralist government in Baghdad in which Shiites would have a leading role. The Iraqi Shiites, representing some 60 percent of the population, have always rejected the Iranian system of *walayat al-faqih* (custodianship of the jurisconsult) that, translated into practical politics, means despotic rule by a small group of politicians disguised as mullahs. Iraq could show that a different Shiite model is possible—and thus deal a serious blow to the claims of the Iranian rulers that *walayat al-faqih* is the only divinely sanctioned form of government in Islam. Since the liberation of Baghdad, thousands of Iranian Shiite clerics have left their traditional seminaries in Tehran and Qom to settle in the Iraqi Shiite cities of Karbala and Najaf. "The American presence in Iraq is a guarantee for religious freedom that we do not have in Iran," says Hussein Khomeini, a mid-ranking mullah and grandson of the late Ayatollah Khomeini, leader of the 1979 revolution in Iran. "The Americans are not going to tell me how to live my Shiism as do the present rulers of Iran."

Iraq's relationship with neighboring Turkey is also certain to undergo important changes. For almost five decades, successive Iraqi regimes have pursued a policy of provocation against Turkey, in the name of Arab nationalism. Also in the name of pan-Arabism, they have maintained an irredentist claim on the Turkish province of Iskenderun, where ethnic Arabs form a majority, and pressed a dispute over the sharing of the waters of the Euphrates. The new Iraq, however, is almost certain to have no pan-Arabist hangovers. In fact, many Iraqis want their country to withdraw from the Arab League and emphasize its ethnic and cultural diversity. For them the key word is *uruqa* (Iraqiness), not *uruba* (Arabness).

MORE REVERBERATIONS

Since all Iraqi political forces have agreed to end Baghdad's traditional policy of hostility to Israel, the new Iraq could act as a positive influence on the Palestinians. With Iraq leaving the "destroy Israel" camp of the Arab states, the Arabs as a whole might move toward a strategic peace with the Jewish state. Right now, 12 of the 53 member states of the Organization of the Islamic Conference maintain full diplomatic ties with Israel. If Iraq were to join them, as it almost certainly will do as soon as possible, a further 20, including at least nine more Arab states, are likely to follow suit. Beyond the Middle East, the emergence of Iraq as a democratic state with close ties to the U.S. and other Western democracies is likely to strengthen the position of those Muslim countries that seek—in the words of Iranian author M. A. Forughi—"a grand alliance between the two halves of the same civilization," that is to say, Islam and the West.

And Iraq's importance will go beyond politics. Its vast untapped oil resources could redefine the basic rules of the global energy market by mobilizing production capacities beyond the dreams of many oil strategists. It is a cliché in the oil business that Saudi Arabia is capable of pumping up to 10 million barrels of oil a day, thus making sure that the global economy can cope with any eventuality with regard to energy. But this claim made for Saudi Arabia has not been tested, or properly investigated, since the late 1980s; it is actually not at all certain that the Saudis could reach such production levels easily and speedily. Saudi Arabia's largest oilfields are over half a century old and in a state of "fatigue." Saudi efforts to attract foreign—principally U.S.—investment in modernizing its oil industry and increasing production capacities have produced little result.

Iraq could turn into the richest market in the Middle East, where other states are either too small or too poor to be attractive trading partners.

The Iraqi fields, however, are new and robust. The island of Majnun, close to the Iranian border, and the South Rumailah fields, close to the border with Kuwait, represent the world's largest reservoirs of crude oil. Most experts believe Iraq could produce an average of 4.2 million barrels a day within five years, thus emerging as the world's second largest exporter of crude. This would be good news for the European Union and the Far East, notably Japan and China, which heavily depend on imported oil from the Persian Gulf. The policies and attitudes of the European Union powers, as well as Russia, China, and Japan, with regard to the process of change in Iraq are sure to have an impact on relations with the future regime in Baghdad: Those who sided with Saddam Hussein until the bitter end may find that their choice will prove costly.

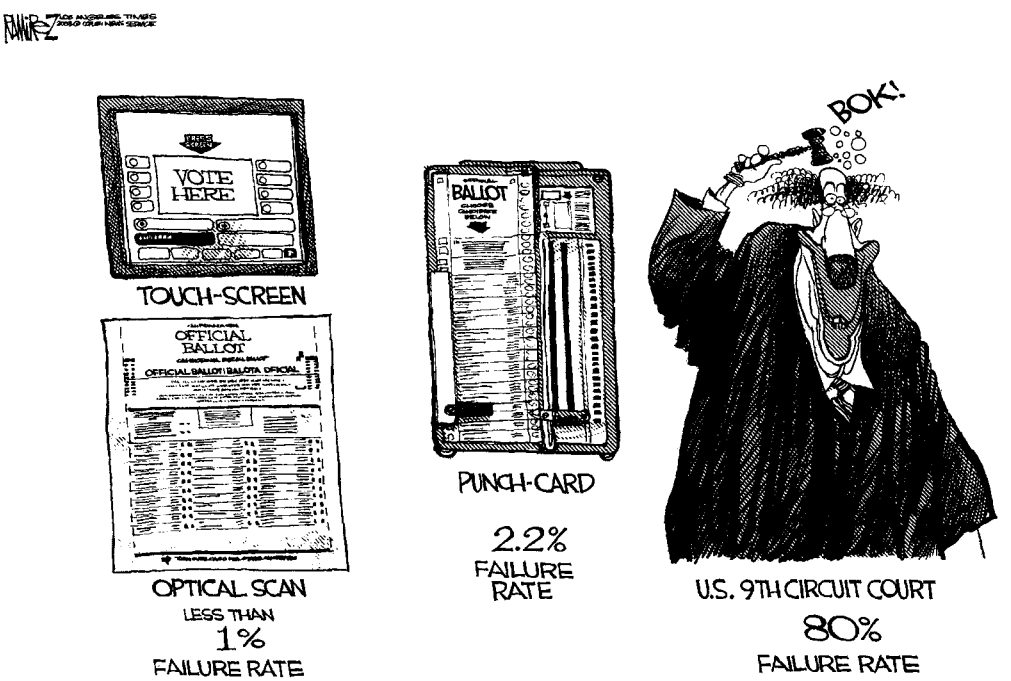
Iraq has another advantage: its relatively large population, projected to hit the 30 million mark by the end of the decade. That could turn it into the richest market in the Middle East, where other states are either too small, in demographic terms, or too poor to be attractive trading partners.

It's still early, but change in Iraq has put paid to the traditional post-1950s model of the Arab state, based on single-party rule backed by the military and centered on one charismatic leader. Some circles, especially in the European Union, fear change and warn of instability. But the Middle East needs a period of creative instability. A stability symbolized by Saddam Hussein and other despots is not worth preserving. **NR**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

HELP!!!!

"ARE WE THERE YET?!!"

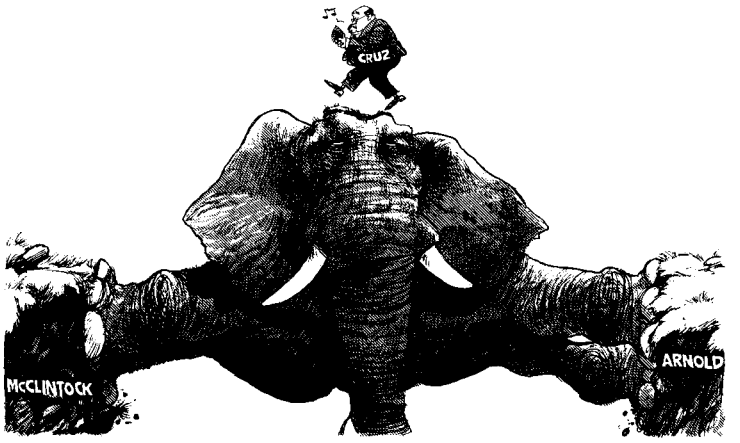


LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

IT WAS FUN

Seattle, where the liberals
Sip coffee till their ears
Ooze caffeine, nixed a latte tax
For poor tots: Oh, the jeers.
"Hip, hip, hypocrisy!" assailed
Up-market Starbucks bars
As rude conservatives let loose
Catcalls and hardy-hars.

—W. H. VON DREELE



"It's nothing to be ashamed of—why shouldn't *you have low self-esteem?"*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Topsy-Turvy

American universities are places of dizzying unreality—and this does considerable harm

VICTOR DAVIS HANSON

Our universities have become odd places. They appear almost eerily out of step with the rest of us in times of national crisis. When all of our institutions become subject to greater scrutiny in wartime, the public begins to grasp just how different academic culture has become from the world of most Americans.

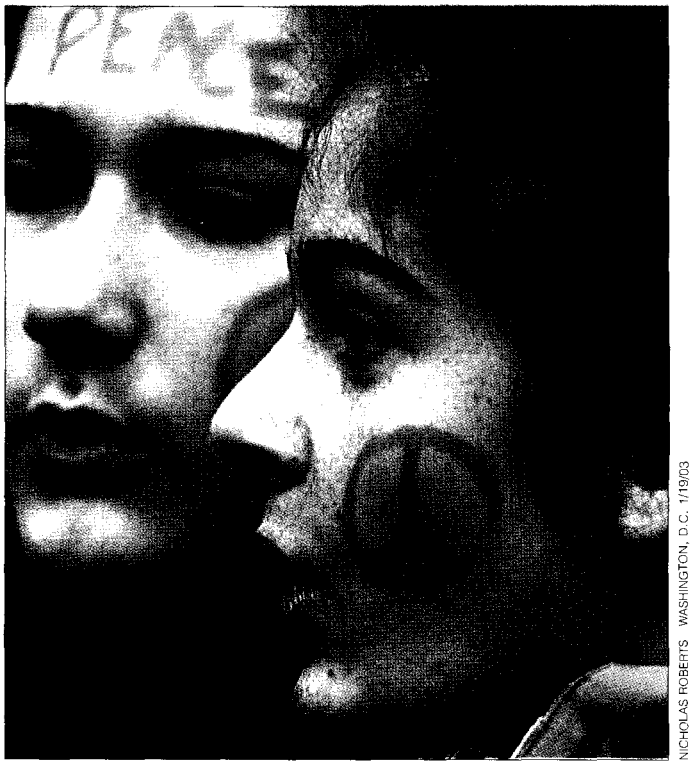
This vast abyss was on view in some lopsided academic-senate votes during the controversy over war with Iraq. In California, as elsewhere, about 70 percent of the public supported the armed removal of Saddam Hussein. Yet at the University of California, Santa Barbara, the faculty senate voted 85-4 to condemn the war. In fact, most of the state's university faculty representatives weighed in along the same lines, from Santa Cruz's 58-0 vote to Chico's 43-0—not a single professor voicing support for a position held by seven out of ten Americans. Like plebiscites in Vietnam, Cuba, and the old Iraq, or the embarrassing balloting of the Soviet legislature, the results were as lopsided and predictable as they were meaningless.

We catch equally disturbing glimpses of this strange landscape through the periodic bloodcurdling pronouncements of faculty members at a time of national peril—such as Columbia professor Nicholas De Genova's wish for "a million Mogadishus" or University of New Mexico professor Richard Berthold's praise of the September 11 murderers: "Anyone who can blow up the Pentagon gets my vote."

There were also the predictably wrongheaded pronouncements from purported experts in diplomatic history, political science, and Middle Eastern history—such as Jere Bacharach of the University of Washington, who on March 28, nine days into the Iraq campaign, grandly announced, "The war is over and we have lost," inasmuch as American armor would soon be "surrounded and forced to surrender." Yale professor Immanuel Wallerstein warned of the possibility of "a long and exhausting war," dismissing the scenario of a quick triumph—"Swift and easy victory, obviously the hope of the U.S. administration, is the least likely [outcome]. I give it one chance in twenty"—before concluding that "losing, incredible as it seems (but then it seemed so in Vietnam too), is a plausible outcome."

In still other instances, academia's problem shows itself to be one of pure ethics, rather than anti-Americanism or poor judgment. We feel something has radically gone wrong with the training and culture of scholars, for example, when our top professors and recipients of academic praise and prizes—a Joseph Ellis, Michael Bellesiles, or Doris Kearns Goodwin—purvey misinformation or expropriate the work of others.

It is not the lamentable behavior and pessimism of university



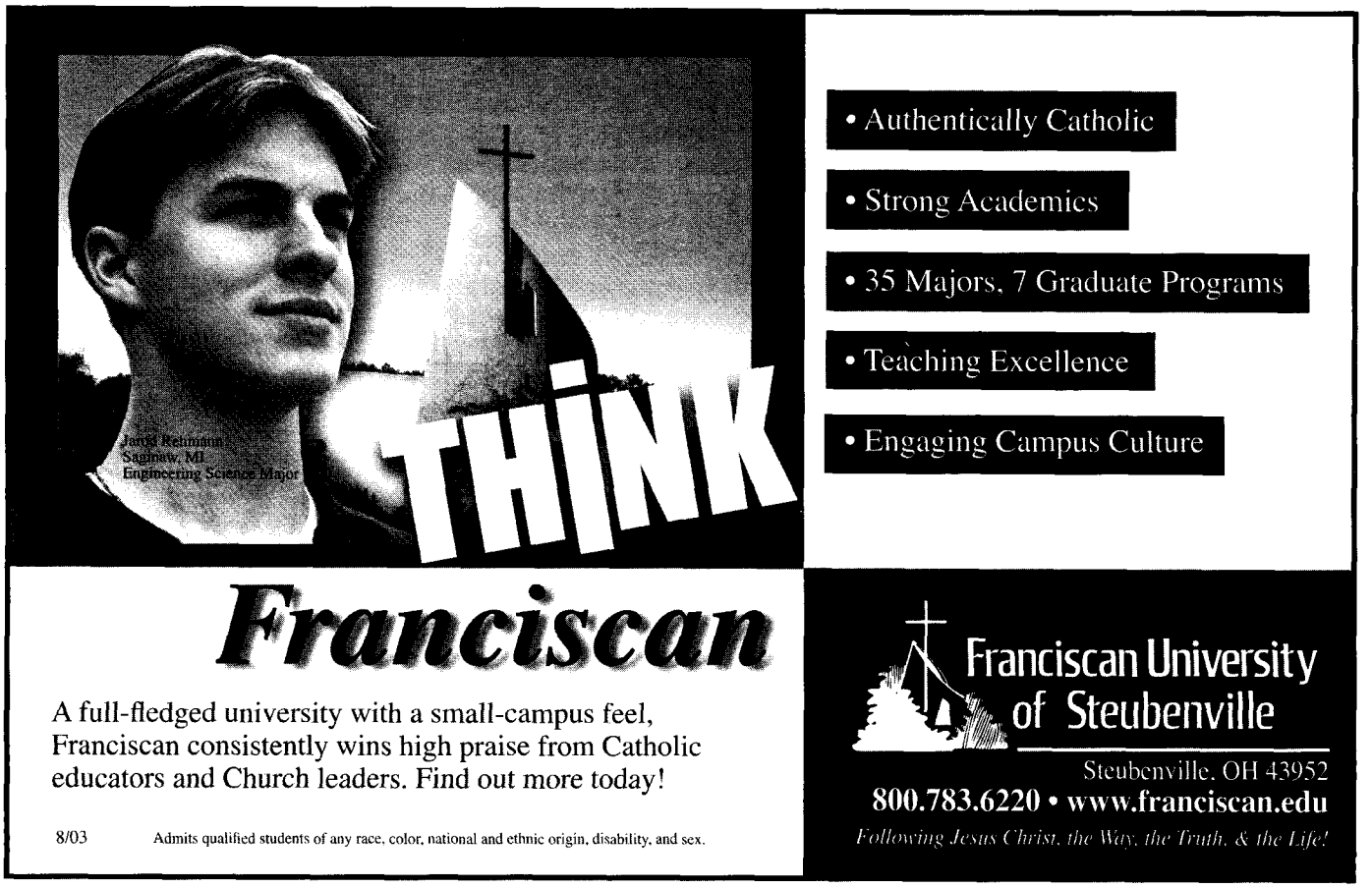
NICHOLAS ROBERTS WASHINGTON, D.C. 1/19/03

Mr. Hanson is a senior fellow at the Hoover Institution, a professor of classics at California State University, Fresno, and the author of *Mexifornia: A State of Becoming* (Encounter).

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

National Review heartily recommends all the schools and education-related products and services promoted in this issue. Many of the schools were included in the last edition of the National Review College Guide because each has curricular common sense (respecting the tradition of the West), dedicated teaching staff (faculty are exceptional and readily available to students), administration with a sense of purpose, congenial quality of campus life, and supervised student life.

National Review encourages all our student subscribers and their parents to not only call, write, and visit the schools appearing in this issue, but also to order the education-related products and services advertised in the surrounding pages.


Jared Reimann
Saginaw, MI
Engineering Science Major
THINK
• Authentically Catholic
• Strong Academics
• 35 Majors, 7 Graduate Programs
• Teaching Excellence
• Engaging Campus Culture
Franciscan
A full-fledged university with a small-campus feel, Franciscan consistently wins high praise from Catholic educators and Church leaders. Find out more today!
8/03
Admits qualified students of any race, color, national and ethnic origin, disability, and sex.
Franciscan University of Steubenville
Steubenville, OH 43952
800.783.6220 • www.franciscan.edu
Following Jesus Christ, the Way, the Truth, & the Life!

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

humanists alone that grates. Institutionalized hypocrisy also is endemic on campus, and casts doubts on the supposedly principled and ethical proclamations issuing from administrators. An entire industry exists to chronicle the pernicious effects of university speech codes and the double standards that allow conservative campus newspapers to be stolen but would cite infringement on free speech if feminist or race-based publications were pilfered. Ethnic and religious slurs are habitually ignored or pardoned—if confined to Israel and fundamentalist Christians. Campus-funded MEChA (*Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán*) organizations embrace racist and separatist language ("For the race everything; for those outside the race, nothing") that would be deemed hate speech if espoused by any other group.

IVIED HALLS OF PROPAGANDA

Anyone who has spent a few years in academic life can corroborate any of these accounts by personal anecdote. After 20 years of teaching I have my own favorites. After I reviewed unfavorably a classicist's edited book, she bragged to an online worldwide classics list server that she had called the FBI to report my coauthor, John Heath, and me—we wrote *Who Killed Homer?*, an account of the tragic decline of Classics—as likely suspects in the Unabomber manhunt. The American Philological Association, the scholarly organization of classicists, did nothing in response to such McCarthyite tactics, even though the story was published in the *Wall Street Journal*—indeed, at the time the culprit was an officer of the group and often active in urging the membership to explore social and gender injustice within the profession.

On another occasion I reported to a department chairman that I had been informed that activist graduate students were stealing some books on military history I had put on reserve on the department's library shelf for seminar students' use. In response, he warned me about the controversy of a military historian's teaching a graduate course on agriculture and war in an academic climate devoted to theory and gender; quickly wrote me a check for my losses; and then came up with the idea that, in the future, I must put false library stickers on all the volumes to fool the students into thinking that the books were university property rather than my own. I did, and the theft abruptly stopped.

I once went to an academic hearing to discuss charges made by unnamed accusers that a professor in our department had said insensitive things about a female colleague—in the privacy of his own office. That the complainers remained unidentified yet confessed to eavesdropping through the walls of someone else's office to glean "evidence" seemed to make no difference. The transgressions of hearsay, snooping, and anonymous accusations were ignored—as it was a matter of supposed male rudeness and insensitivity.

Most recently our university invited activists and persons convicted of felonies—including blowing up university laboratories—to relate their experiences in a conference on radical environmentalism. The fact that in the post–9/11 environment, and at a time of California budget disasters, it made little sense to invite terrorist felons to campus on the state's nickel occasioned little controversy—until donors to the university complained about the absence of balance. (No dissenters had been invited.)

The common theme in all these instances is that the embrace of politically correct ideology provided zealous miscreants with immunity from the strictures of common sense if not legality itself. Bearing false witness, character assassination, petty theft, eavesdropping, and felony criminal acts—all this was excusable if done in service to more noble political goals such as the professed struggles for gender sensitivity, pacifism, feminism, or environmentalism.

Such politicized activism would be merely the stuff of black humor if the university were at least doing its job of training literate and reasoned thinkers. But often it is not. Graduating seniors have worse reading and writing skills than the students of 30 years ago. At many campuses of the California State University system, almost 40 percent of the units taken by first-year students are remedial courses, basic high-school-level classes designed to teach elementary reading, writing, and arithmetic. Tuition consistently rises more rapidly than inflation, as the public is asked to pay ever more for ever more inferior instruction. Education really is a zero-sum game of a finite number of hours in the life of a harried college student: A politicized and therapeutic curriculum comes at the expense of literature, history, and philosophy. It is, after all, easier to talk about gender bias than take a student through *Paradise Lost* or Hegel.

A politicized and therapeutic curriculum comes at the expense of literature, history, and philosophy.

Although the faculty is a bastion of "progressive" thinking, some of the worst sorts of labor exploitation are also routine on campus. Part-time Ph.D.'s without medical or retirement benefits teach an increasing number of units, creating a 19th-century caste system of tenured versus temporary faculty, a divide that has no real counterpart in the coal mine or steel mill. The creation of all sorts of nonacademic and outreach programs, new administrative positions, and the general reduction of teaching loads from 30 years ago often require cash-strapped universities to cut costs in instruction. Consequently, students at many elite graduate universities rarely encounter full professors in their first two years, but instead are taught by postdoctoral lecturers and graduate-student teaching assistants—often paid per class at 25 percent or less of the tenured-faculty rate—who are often

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the spotlight foundations of law: justice, faith, and truth. These are the real sources of strength for our nation."

The Honorable
John D. Ashcroft
United States Attorney General
Commencement, May 18, 2003

be here and it is an honor for you to be here in this first graduating class that is going to touch so many other people across this country and across the world."

The Honorable
Samuel D. Brownback
United States Senator (R-Kan.)
Commencement, May 18, 2003

AVE MARIA SCHOOL OF LAW

Founded on the motto *Fides et Ratio* (*Faith and Reason*), Ave Maria aspires to prepare lawyers to practice with the highest degree of skill and integrity. Preeminent faculty, high-tech facilities, scholarship opportunities, a distinguished lecture series, mentor programs, annual conferences, and a focus on the Catholic intellectual tradition are among the many features that make Ave Maria a truly distinctive law school. Our students are from across the United States and Canada with undergraduate degrees from more than 100 institutions. Ave Maria's students are among North America's finest – 25% of this year's entering class scored in the top 15% on the Law School Admission Test (LSAT).

Educating Lawyers for Law & Life

FIDES ET RATIO
AVE MARIA
SCHOOL of LAW

3475 Plymouth Road
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48105
Phone: 734.827.8063
www.avemarialaw.edu

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

less qualified and experienced than junior-college teachers.

There are many explanations for this disturbing picture, both institutional and generational. Lifelong employment through tenure can breed complacency, ensure mediocrity, and foster insularity. Underachieving but tenured academics, despite dismal teaching evaluations and nonexistent scholarship, are virtually immune from meaningful censure—docked pay or dismissal—from their peers. Instead, they are like Brahmins from their seventh year to retirement—essentially three decades and more of institutional unaccountability.

Oddly, tenure often does not even achieve its one professed goal of protecting academic independence and eccentricity, as the one-sidedness of those recent academic-senate votes demonstrates. Instead, whether out of peer pressure or in constant pursuit of promotion, grants, good reviews, and book contracts—most adjudicated through peer review and faculty governance—professors who cannot be fired still rarely voice any sentiments at odds with prevailing academic mantras. Saying that George W. Bush is a warmonger might be a brave thing to do in Toledo or Fort Worth, but not in New Haven, Palo Alto, or Madison, where such sentiments are utterly unexceptional.

Principled faculty critics cite the new vocationalism that has ruined the university—the inclusion of nonacademic curricula like hotel management and leisure studies—or the dishonesty of mercenary athletic departments dressed up as amateur collegiate-sports programs. Yet they grow silent when similarly tough questions are asked about their own overspecialization, the use of public grants and sabbaticals to pursue esoteric and often irrelevant research, and the near absence of any readership for academic articles and subsidized university-press books.

An eight-month work year—most of us teach only 30 of 52 weeks—without regular hours required at school outside of class also lends an unreality, a starry-eyed utopianism to professors who count on steady pay raises, permanent work, and an insulation from the hurly-burly of the workplace. That most tenured faculty members in the humanities have never run a business, been laid off, or had their pay cut makes it unlikely that they have suffered dire economic consequences for bad decisions or quirks of fate.

The expansion of the university in the late 1950s and 1960s explains much as well. With over one million bachelor's degrees granted annually, academia has now become a multibillion-dollar industry, one that must certify rather than educate 21-year-olds for future employment. The boom years of the 1960s created a need for tens of thousands of Ph.D.'s, many of whom simply did not have the talent or training of the far smaller cohort of their predecessors a half-century past. Imagine the quality of athletes and play if we suddenly expanded the National Basketball League to 500 teams, or the NFL to 100.

A CRISIS OF VALUES

But more than the institutionalized academic culture or the absence of talent explains the hostility of most academics to those values held by mainstream America. Something very different, something very unusual, transpired in the 1960s when a combination of events altered the perceived mission of the American university. If the tree-lined campus of old was a home to elbow-patched eccentrics and tweedy idealism, by the time of the Vietnam War it had transmogrified into a counterculture that offered a comprehensive alternative to politics as usual. For thousands of young men facing the draft in an unpopular war, and with sexual, racial, and environmental reform on the nation's agenda, the university responded with new curricula, new campus policies, and new faculty aimed at righting society's wrongs by proper training and indoctrination. The old Socratic idea that through give and take students might learn a method of inductive reasoning was considered passé, since the mastery of dialectic could only ensure a method for acquiring wisdom, not ipso facto the "right" thinking.

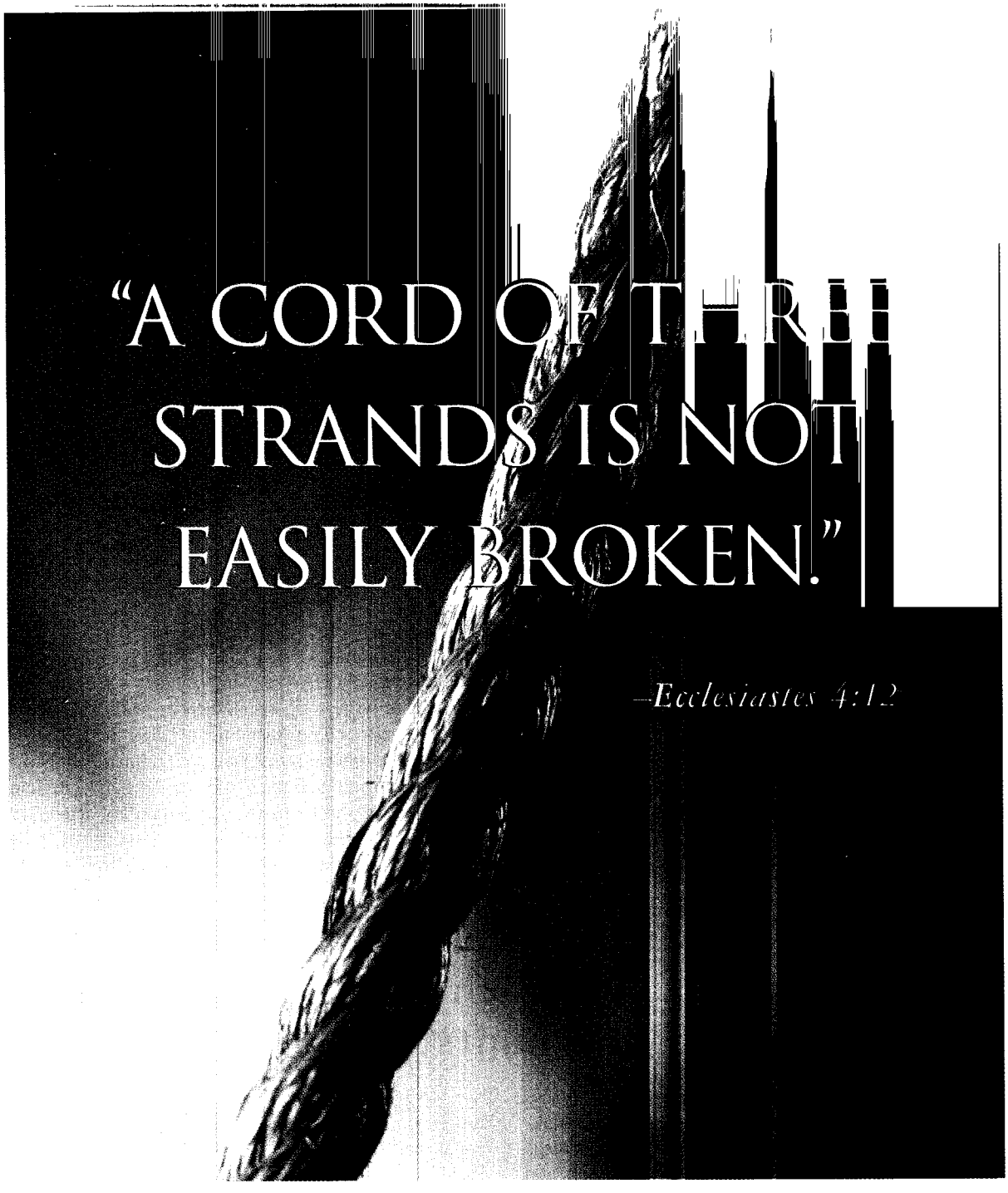
In the past, humanities professors taught a body of knowledge—historical facts, philosophical doctrines, time-honored themes in novels and plays—that might offer a student the ability to translate the daily chaos of the present into some abstract wisdom of the ages, with an appreciation for beauty thrown into the bargain. But of what immediate relevance were all such distant facts and ideas when old white men in the here and now had ensured that young people were dying in Vietnam and that the planet was suffocated in a gaseous cloud?

In response, the university took on the Sisyphean task of guaranteeing social change according to the idealistic visions of an often out-of-touch and ill-prepared faculty. The deductive thinking of predetermined results and theories—the ancient creed of the sophists—now triumphed, as the old notions of fairness and two sides to every issue were deemed less important. The right politics were alone the proper corrective: If students were to leave the university equipped to counterbalance the power of corporate America, white males, the Republican party, and the global reach of the United States, there were only four brief years of preparation and no time or need to offer competing "discourses."

Sometimes we see the results in the proliferation of "Studies" programs—"Ethnic Studies," "Women's Studies," "Environmental Studies," or "Peace Studies"—as if the traditional missions of philosophy, literature, and history suddenly about 1970 had been found incapable of dealing with age-old issues of class, race, gender, war, and the environment. Take, for example, the list of classes from the University of California, Santa Barbara, for the academic year 2001-2. There are some 62 different courses listed under "Chicano Studies," among them Introduction to

DANE ANDREW SAN FRANCISCO 4/4/03

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Only one of *Barron's* 64 ❶ most competitive colleges and universities in the country offers a ❷ thoroughly Christian environment and ❸ tuition less than *half* that of its peers.

That place is Grove City College.

If *all three* of these "strands" are important to you, this might be your kind of place, because they are the ones that have made us strong — and unique — for over 125 years.

Learn more.

Call (724)458-2100 for information
or to schedule a campus visit.
www.gcc.edu/nr

GROVE CITY COLLEGE
ESTABLISHED 1876 · PENNSYLVANIA

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Chicano Spanish; Methodology of the Oppressed; Barrio Popular Culture; Body, Culture, and Power; Chicana Feminism; History of the Chicano; History of the Chicano Movement; History of Chicano and Chicana Workers; Racism in American History; Chicano Political Organizing; Chicana Writers; De-colonizing Cyber-Cinema; and Dance of the Chicanos. In the history department are listed 13 similar courses on Latino and Chicano issues, in addition to more generic classes on race and oppression. In contrast, the entire catalogue has few classes listed on the Civil War, and no real courses dedicated to either the Revolutionary War or World War II.

It is not just that many of these classes are politicized—imagine writing a paper on past corruption in the United Farm Workers Union's health fund, the fascist *Sinarquismo* movement of the early 20th century that favored both Prussian militarism and later German Nazism, or ritualized mass murder in pre-Cortés Mexico City in "Methodology of the Oppressed" or "History of the Chicano." The problem is also that such therapeutic classes as "De-colonizing Cyber-Cinema" do not necessarily teach a broad body of disinterested knowledge—elements of the ancient world, Renaissance, Reformation, or Enlightenment—that is subject to debate and differing analysis, the building blocks of a true liberal education. Instead they reinforce the most unfortunate of youthful tendencies—arrogance coupled with ignorance—as activists with incomplete historical knowledge and without writing and speaking fluency claim wisdom on the basis of their commitment or zealotry in a particular cause.

Two other developments may account for the academy's sinking reputation. If during the Vietnam War such pernicious ideas about education were confined to activist young professors and graduate students, they are the common currency of that generation now come of age and into institutional authority and responsibility. Yesterday's assistant professor is today's college dean, provost, or president. Like swallowed prey making its way through the digestive tract of a snake, the 1960s generation has gone from newly minted Ph.D.'s to tenured radicals and on to university administrators, thus explaining why today's institutional hierarchies tend to support rather than mitigate often extremist views.

The other development involves the glaring issue of privilege. It is one thing for the public to see poorly paid assistant professors demonstrating against the pathologies of American capitalism in Berkeley's Free Speech Plaza, quite another to witness the smug disdain of the United States voiced by well-off endowed professors and elite faculty. One of the reasons that a Noam Chomsky or Edward Said wears so thin is precisely that his own radical politics are so at odds with the compensation he receives, the house he lives in, and the places he jets to—all greater than those enjoyed by most of the middle-class Americans whom the professoriate so smugly dismisses. So it is no surprise that the hotspots of activism against the Iraq war were places like Westwood, Santa Cruz, La Jolla, the Berkeley Hills, and Davis rather than Bakersfield and Tulare. Affluence, leisure, and security are an integral part of campus radicalism.

But revolutionary politics and elite tastes are always a bad match. The public that is often a paycheck away from penury has little tolerance for affluent professors who preach American pathology while living off the country's largess. Perhaps guilt about living lives so at odds with professed radical politics explains unquestioning faculty support for affirmative-action quotas, suspicion of Western civilization, and empathy for opponents of the U.S. military. For every trip to Europe or each child at prep school, psychological penance is achieved by weighing in at little cost on the side of the happily distant other.

A PRICE TO BE PAID

Does this campus tragedy have repercussions in wider society other than the fact that so many of today's socially aware graduates cannot write well, speak clearly, or do basic computation? The three *meae culpae* that emerged after September 11—multiculturalism, cultural relativism, and utopian pacifism—either to excuse or to mitigate the horror of the mass murderers are all explicable only in terms of a contemporary academic ideology that has filtered down to millions in America well beyond our elite media and universities. Multiculturalism on our campuses taught us that the customs of all peoples are more or less equal, one society—whether the Taliban or Saddam Hussein's Baathists—not being qualitatively better or worse than another. But the public saw that the theocracy in Afghanistan is a different sort of rule from democracy—an exclusive product of Western civilization—and results in the subjugation of women and the crushing of homosexuals by toppled stone walls, not electoral disputes in Florida.

Cultural relativism reprimanded a generation not to judge a people on its customs and practices; there can be no objective criterion of worth, since the very concept is an arbitrary "construct," created by those in power to maintain their control and privilege. Yet burkas transcend culture: They are hot, make daily tasks excruciatingly difficult, and are often demeaning for women forced to wear them across time and space.

Conflict-resolution classes suggested that war is a product of exploitation, oppression, poverty, or miscommunication—rarely attributable to the aggressive policies of an autocrat who seeks power, fame, status, and honor through attack on perceived enemies. Terrorists must have material, not imaginary religious or

The public has little tolerance for affluent professors who preach American pathology while living off the country's largess.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

AMERICA'S BEST 2004 COLLEGE GUIDE

CHOOSING THE RIGHT COLLEGE

"By far the best college guide in America. It covers subjects not even mentioned in other college guides, but which are urgently important for parents and students to know about. This is especially so at a time when choosing the wrong college can lead not merely to disappointment but to disaster."

— Thomas Sowell

The 2004 edition of the Intercollegiate Studies Institute's ***Choosing the Right College: The Whole Truth About America's Top Schools*** is *the* essential reference resource for prospective students and their parents. Unlike other college guides, which too often read like paraphrases of university public-relations brochures, ***Choosing the Right College*** covers the things that matter *most*: core curricula, campus crime, student living arrangements, the quality of teaching and student advising, freshman orientation, good professors to seek out, and courses and departments to avoid.

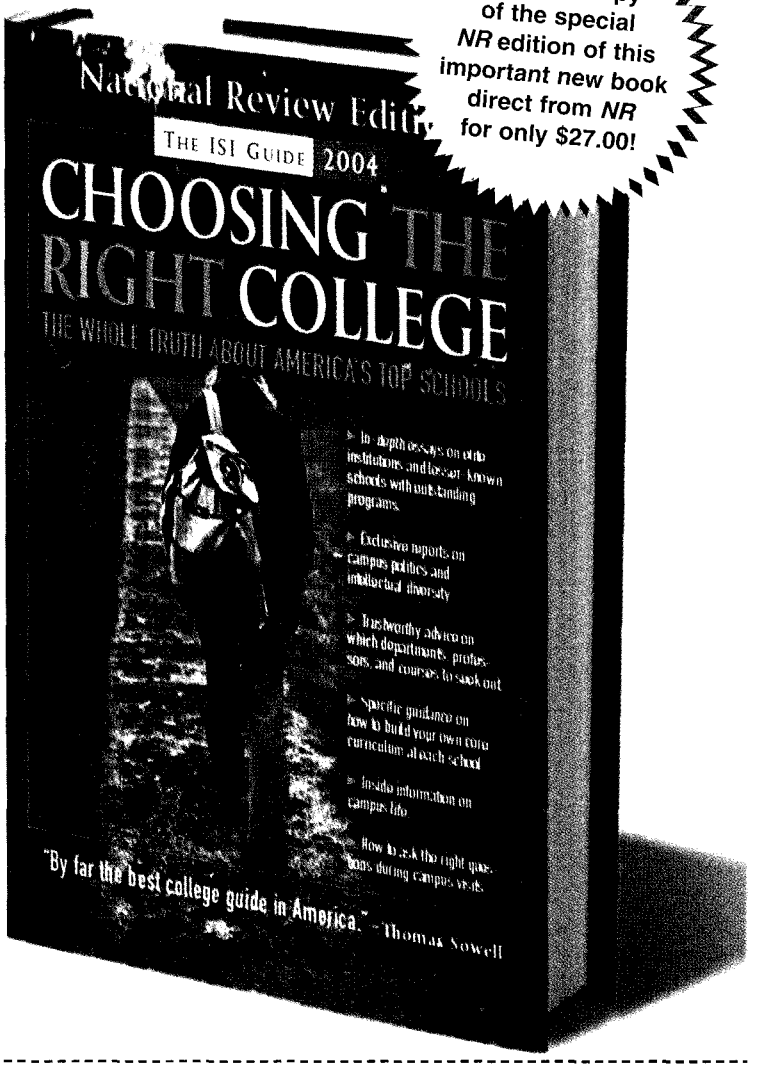
This special *National Review* edition has been thoroughly revised, rewritten, and expanded to include detailed profiles of over 120 of the nation's top private and public colleges and universities. ***Choosing the Right College*** provides candid assessments of the state of each school's academic curriculum, political atmosphere, and campus life. Even better, this 1,000-page mega-book informs students on what courses they can take at each school in order to provide themselves with a true core curriculum! This build-your-own-core feature helps make the 2004 edition of ***Choosing the Right College*** more indispensable than ever for the student and parent seeking a genuine liberal arts education.

If your child or relative is considering college, he must have ***Choosing the Right College***. It will provide:

* In-depth introductions to elite institutions and schools with outstanding professors and programs.
* Exclusive reports on the politics and intellectual diversity of each campus.
* Trustworthy advice on which departments, professors, and courses to seek out—and which to *avoid*.
* Specific guidance on how to build your own core curriculum at schools that don't offer one.
* Descriptions of the state of teaching and student advising at each school.
* Inside information on campus life issues such as dorms, clubs, and campus safety.

College-search season is here—*now* is the time to discover the whole truth about America's top schools. Order your quality softcover edition of ***Choosing the Right College*** direct from *NR*—the cost is only $27.00. Count on it being the *best* $27 you'll ever spend!

Get your copy of the special *NR* edition of this important new book direct from *NR* for only $27.00!


National Review Edition
THE ISI GUIDE 2004
CHOOSING THE RIGHT COLLEGE
THE WHOLE TRUTH ABOUT AMERICA'S TOP SCHOOLS
"By far the best college guide in America." - Thomas Sowell

National Review ◆ 215 Lexington Avenue ◆ New York, NY ◆ 10016

Send me _____ copies of the special *NR* quality-softcover edition of ***Choosing the Right College***. My cost is $27.00 for each book plus a flat charge of $2.95 for shipping and handling. I enclose total payment of $_____. Send to:

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ ZIP _____

(NY State residents must add sales tax.)

PAYMENT METHOD:

☐ Check enclosed (payable to *National Review*)

☐ Bill my ☐ MasterCard ☐ Visa

Acct. No. _____

Expir. Date _____

Signature _____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ideological, grievances—and thus upscale brats like Mohamed Atta and Osama bin Laden surely must somewhere have been deprived of nutrition, education, or enlightenment in some way that can be traced to an act, policy, or idea of the West.

Thus war is "resolved" through greater understanding and "mediation," as if we could achieve peace by sitting down with the murderous Mullah Omar—some in our State Department, remember, even floated the idea of a coalition government to include the Taliban—rather than by defeating him. That terrorism is often the domain of the pampered, bored, and conniving makes no sense to academics who have been schooled in the material determinism of Marx and his epigones—and who have never seen anything quite like an Osama or Saddam in the faculty lounge or the halls of the academic senate. Unprofessional deans and hurtful chairmen are one thing; cold-blooded killers who enjoy blowing up children with plastic explosives, nails, and rat poison are quite another—and, of course, usually a world away.

The past two years have done untold damage to the reputation of the contemporary university. Its experts—who neither read nor teach the history of wars—often predicted military defeat in Afghanistan and in Iraq. Campus protests against America and Israel offered anti-Semitic slogans and were organized by creepy neo-Communists who professed support for Fidel Castro and North Korea. The sexism, homophobia, and racism of bin Laden's fanatics discredited the idea that such pathologies were uniquely Western. And what we saw of the Pakistani street, the parades of ten-year-olds with suicide belts in Gaza, and the madrassas, all gave the lie to the canard that there is no abstract measure to distinguish good from bad.

In contrast, American armed forces, drawing on a deadly military tradition unique to the Western world and subject to civilian oversight, not only obliterated Saddam's military in a few weeks but ended the conflict of some twelve years that began in August 1990 through force leading to victory, not negotiations facilitating appeasement. Contrary to university gospel, the military proved not merely strong but moral as well, as it seeks to implant democracy in the difficult arena of postbellum Iraq. In response to all that, what is a postcolonial-studies professor or a lecturer in conflict-resolution theory to do?

Worse still for the campuses, embedded reporting of the American military offered a sharp contrast with the more elite culture of the university that was shown wanting in everything from race relations and inculcating maturity to tolerating dissent. If Hispanic and black Americans often are voluntarily segregated in university "theme houses" and dining halls or participate in racially segregated graduation ceremonies on "liberal" campuses, the military force-feeds integration and allows no such separatism. If 19-year-olds on campus engage in heated debates over perceived slights in campus newspapers and endlessly waste time over strange things like "lookism" and the rights of the "transgendered," their generational counterparts on aircraft carriers are busy shepherding $40 million jets around crowded tarmacs, death or dismemberment always a few inches away. If faculty and students chant about perceived oppression abroad, college-educated officers and their rugged enlistees brave rifle fire to depose fascists and install democracies in their place.

Nor do Harvard or Stanford undergraduates have any monopoly on popular culture, as their peers in the Marines listen to the same music, wear the same style of sunglasses, and use the same jargon—the military and its officer corps more attuned to today's adolescents than are frustrated professors who claim contemporary youth do not listen to them as they should. They don't, and for good reason. If you asked today's undergraduates at most campuses whether they respected a Gen. Tommy Franks or a Joint Chiefs chairman Richard Myers more than most of their college professors, the vast majority might well weigh in with the military.

Not all is doom and gloom on our campuses. If the faculty was lopsided in its opposition to the American effort in Iraq, according to most polls the students were evenly divided, or in fact favored military intervention. If the complaints of professors about the ideology of today's undergraduates are any indication, a river of change is about to burst through the Augean stables of most American campuses. With civil rights legislation long ago enacted, the draft now history, controversy on campus about inviting rather than expelling ROTC, far more female than male undergraduates, and the U.S. military at war with right-wing fascists like Noriega, Milosevic, the Taliban, and Saddam Hussein, today students do not believe that their own culture is necessarily racist, warmongering, or sexist.

In real dollars, tuition has steadily increased, lending a sense of the practical to today's undergraduate "consumer." Maybe it is the characteristic of youth to question authority; maybe today's indebted students want tangible results for their investment. But whatever the cause, undergraduates more than ever are questioning their professors' ideology, resent "off topic" meanderings into contemporary politics, and don't think it is the university's business to offer bias as "balance" to the supposed wrongs of the dominant culture they will soon enter.

In short, much of our present academic pathology is the cargo of a particular generation, one that is slowly making its way out of the university. Its influence is felt most acutely today as it reaches the apex of power, but as this generation nursed on campus protest passes—and it soon will—there is reason to hope that it may not have replicated itself and so will be remembered as a sad artifact of our recent history. **NR**

MARK LUDAK NEW YORK, N.Y. 3/23/03

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In order to change the culture it helps to have one of your own.

Because Christendom College imparts a solid foundation in the culture of Catholic Western Civilization, our graduates have a unique ability to engage and renew modern culture. We believe that a college education must emphasize the truths of faith and reason as passed down by such lights as Aristotle, St. Thomas Aquinas, G. K. Chesterton, and Pope John Paul II. And through such an education you will become the salt of the earth and the light of the world.

CHRISTENDOM
A ROMAN CATHOLIC COLLEGE

800.877.5456 • www.christendom.edu • Front Royal, Virginia

CALL FOR PAPERS

THE BAYLOR INSTITUTE FOR FAITH AND LEARNING AND
THE COUNCIL OF CHRISTIAN SCHOLARLY SOCIETIES ANNOUNCE

Christianity and the Soul of the University: Faith as a Foundation for Intellectual Community

THURSDAY, MARCH 25–SATURDAY, MARCH 27, 2004
BAYLOR UNIVERSITY, WACO, TEXAS

PLENARY SPEAKERS

Jean Bethke-Elshtain, Joel Carpenter, Richard Hays,
David Lyle Jeffrey, John Polkinghorne

PROGRAM DESCRIPTION

"Christianity and the Soul of the University" will explore the role that reflective Christian faith can play in unifying the intellectual life of the university. As John Henry Newman expressed well in *The Idea of a University*, theological reflection is not peripheral to the academic enterprise, but constitutes a fundamental feature of education in its fullest sense, whatever one's disciplinary affiliation. We hope to underscore in this conference the enduring place that Christian faith should hold in our call to intellectual labor and in our regard for our varied disciplines.

This announcement invites contributed papers for concurrent sessions. In addition to individual papers, session proposals on particular topics are encouraged. Abstracts of 500-750 words for contributed paper/panels should be submitted by Oct 31, 2003, and should include title, author(s), position, institution, mailing address, email address and telephone. Please mail to: Institute for Faith and Learning, Baylor University, PO Box 97270, Waco, TX 76798-7270; or email to: IFL@baylor.edu.

For more information, visit our web site: www.baylor.edu/CCSS/soul.htm

Baker Book House Company is the publishing sponsor of this event.
Please visit them at www.bakerbooks.com

BAYLOR
UNIVERSITY

Learn Another Language onYour Own!

Learn to speak a foreign language fluently on your own and at your own pace with what are considered the finest in-depth courses available. Many were developed by the Foreign Service Institute of the U.S. Department of State for diplomatic personnel who must learn a language quickly and thoroughly. Emphasis is on learning to speak and to understand the spoken language. A typical course (equivalent to a college semester) includes an album of 10 to 12 audio cassettes (10 to 18 hours), recorded by native-born speakers, plus a 250-page textbook. Some of our courses:

☐ Arabic, Saudi	$225	☐ Italian	$225	☐ Slovak	$245
☐ Egyptian	$225	☐ Japanese	$225	☐ Spanish, European	$175
☐ Bulgarian	$295	☐ Korean	$245	☐ Latin American I	$225
☐ Czech	$175	☐ Mandarin	$225	☐ Latin American II	$185
☐ French I	$225	☐ Polish	$225	☐ Tagalog	$325
☐ French II	$245	☐ Persian	$225	☐ Thai	$245
☐ German I	$225	Portuguese		☐ Turkish	$255
☐ German II	$175	☐ Brazilian	$275	☐ Ukrainian	$245
☐ Greek	$225	☐ European	$175	☐ Urdu	$195
☐ Hebrew	$285	☐ Russian	$295	☐ Vietnamese	$275
☐ Hungarian	$245	☐ Serbo-Croatian	$245		

Brief courses:
☐ Azerbaijani, $75
☐ Indonesian, $75
☐ Iraqi, Arabic, $85
☐ Kazakh, $75
☐ Kurdish, $55
☐ Penjabi, $55
☐ Scots Gaelic, $90
☐ Uzbek, $75

Order now with a full **3-week money-back guarantee.** To place order call **toll-free 1-800-243-1234, fax free (888) 453-4329, email:R5804@audioforum.com**, or mail check or money order. Ask for our free 52-page *Whole World Language Catalog* with courses in 103 languages. Our 31st year.

AUDIO-FORUM
THE LANGUAGE SOURCE
Room 5804,
One Orchard Park Road
Madison, CT 06443
Telephone: (203) 245-0195 • fax: (203) 245-0769

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Waking Up

September 11 has made some students question the orthodoxy of their teachers

RACHEL ZABARKES FRIEDMAN

American universities have long been centers of anti-Americanism. During the Cold War, academic hostility to America took the form of support for the Soviet Union, often buttressed by faulty scholarship and the deliberate hiding of Communist brutality. Since September 11, the anti-American Left has found a new way to express its illiberal undercurrents: It has made an enemy of President Bush and the War on Terror, and a friend (after a fashion) of America's enemies.

Following the attacks, professors across the country jumped at the opportunity to preach their new dogma: What happened was our fault; we should criticize ourselves; we should not respond in anger or even in self-defense. To many in academe, our strength, our influence, and our unfettered freedom generated legitimate hatred around the world, and we had only to repent.

While conservative student groups and newspapers have for years been battling such sentiments—taking aim at anti-capitalism, cultural relativism, and suspicion of military strength, a few of the orthodoxies that make up the anti-American creed—the events and aftermath of September 11 gave new ammunition and focus to student dissidents. For many, the last two years have brought mounting evidence that the ideology of many of their professors is far from the tolerant humanism they profess. During this time, a new army of student groups has emerged to counter anti-Americanism, to re-legitimize patriotism, and to promote the active defense of American values here and around the world.

Student groups have formed at Columbia, Princeton, Yale, Harvard Law, Brandeis, and Oxford (the last is the work of two Rhodes scholars who also write a popular blog: www.OxBlog.com). Labeling themselves "pro-democracy" or "anti-terror" rather than conservative or Republican, they emphasize shared fundamental values—such as condemnation of terror, belief in universal human rights, and support for national defense—and open debate about the rest. They hope to appeal to the growing number of students who crave a serious defense of America, and rarely if ever hear one from their teachers.

Despite their intentionally broad appeal, these groups know they have their work cut out for them. Students at Brandeis who supported the war in Iraq say they were called "freaks" and "crackpots" by a professor at an anti-war demonstration there. Students at Princeton say administrators consciously avoided patriotic sentiment in memorials for September 11; instead of singing the nation anthem at a vigil immediately after the attacks, all joined in a round of "We Shall Overcome." At Harvard, over 1,000 students left their classrooms one day last spring to participate in an anti-war rally, while professors condemned the Patriot Act and called on the university to withdraw investments from defense contractors involved in the Iraq war.

But the anti-anti-Americans are nevertheless sanguine about their ability to influence campus opinion, particularly among students. Some say students are increasingly dissatisfied with the radical left-wing views of their professors. Matthew Louchheim, founding president of Yale College Students for Democracy, says, "There's a growing trend, at least at Yale, of students shifting away from the Left. They're not necessarily moving all the way to the Right, but they're disenchanted with leftist ideology in the post-September 11 world." Others describe a silent mass of students who, until recently, were afraid to express their patriotic sentiments. "The most important thing we did was just founding the group and giving people who supported the war on terrorism a voice, which they didn't have before," says Jennifer Thorpe, who started Columbia's Students United for America. "Now people are no longer afraid to speak their minds."

Princeton senior Carlos Ramos-Mrosovsky, founder of the Princeton Committee Against Terrorism, felt that while speakers and support-the-troops rallies were a start, the problem called for a longer-term solution within the realm of ideas. "We wanted to do something more intellectual, something that would stick," he says. So he founded a magazine, *American Foreign Policy*, which began with just a few pages and soon grew into a thicker, biweekly publication that now attracts writers liberal and conservative, and from outside Princeton as well. "We've expanded the boundaries of acceptable debate, and we've created an alternative point of view" to that which dominated immediately after September 11. [ED.: A piece by Mr. Ramos-Mrosovsky on a different topic follows this article.]

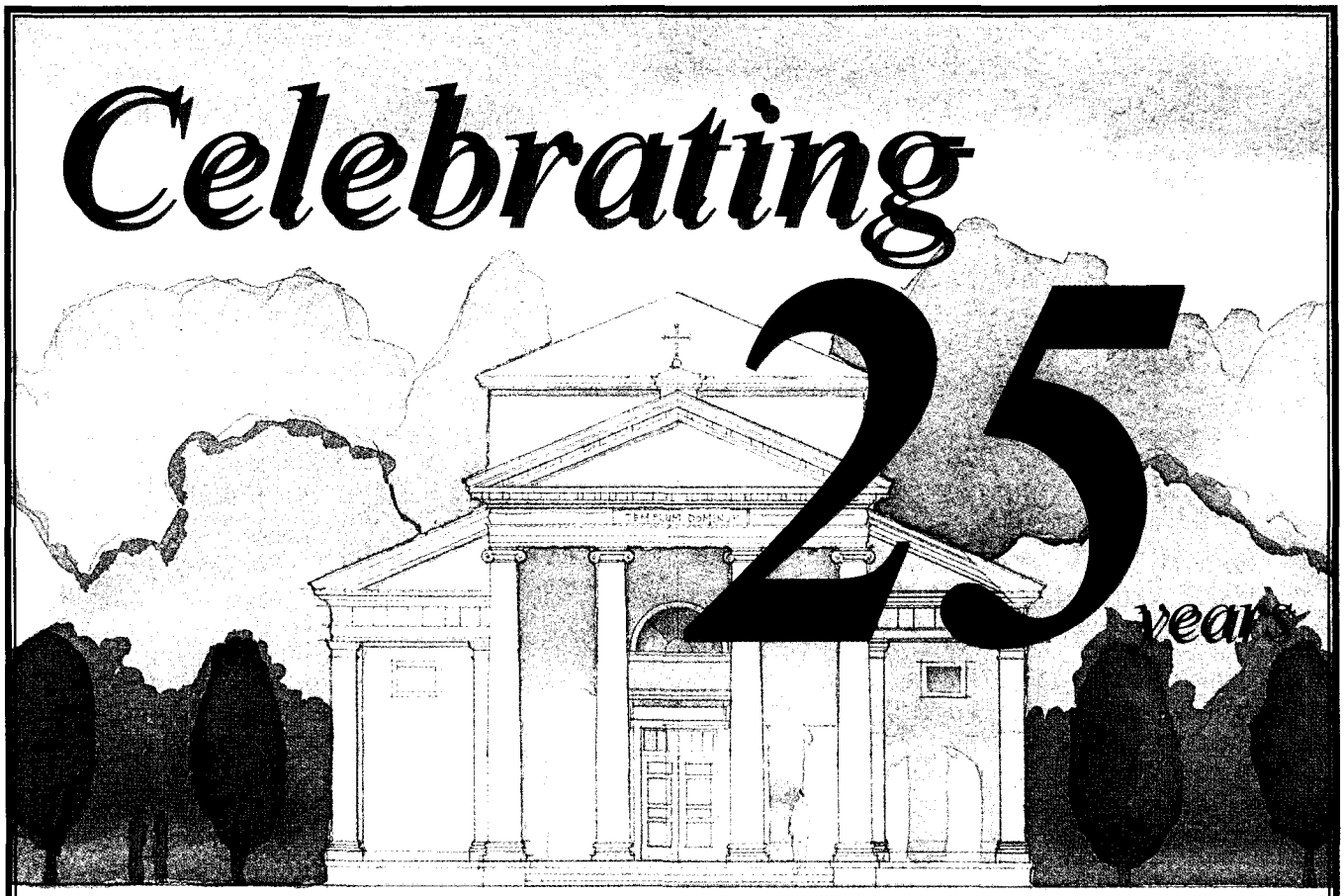
The Columbia and Yale groups hope to focus their long-term efforts on returning ROTC to campus. Louchheim laments the fact that Yale students have to go off campus to participate in ROTC, and says it means that military careers aren't afforded the same prestige, or even legitimacy, that most other professions are. Though there's vocal opposition at both schools to bringing the military back to campus, a poll of undergraduates at Columbia last April showed that 65 percent believe that the university should not continue to ban ROTC.

Over in Oxford, those Rhodes Scholars—Joshua Chafetz and David Adesnik—started their group OxDem to counter the prevailing perception that American foreign policy is imperialism in disguise. They also wanted to make a principled case for a "strong international democracy position," particularly against popular opposition to "imposing" democratic values on the rest of the world. So far, they say they've gotten positive responses from other students. A debate they held last year with opposing groups filled a large lecture hall, and Chafetz says many students told them afterward that "we had raised points that hadn't occurred to them before."

Here at home, the burgeoning anti-anti-American movement is not limited to a small cluster of East Coast schools. At Indiana University, a group called Grand Old Cause was founded, in part to dismantle a "peace camp" of tents stationed illegally on university property by anti-war protesters. Founder Karl Born says that

Rachel Zabarkes Friedman is on the editorial staff at *Commentary*.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Please support the proposed *Chapel of the North American Martyrs*

The action of liberal education at Thomas More can be said to proceed through two general stages: one represented by the student's progress through the range of core courses in a variety of disciplines and the other by the study of upper division courses in one of the major liberal arts disciplines. It is, first, through participation in the core curriculum that students discover themselves, holding opinions in reserve until they absorb the thoughts, ideas, images, and actions of the tradition they study. Each student, regardless of major, takes a six-hour Humanities course every semester throughout the four years.

As students emerge from the first two years, they choose a major in political science, philosophy, literature, or biology, disciplines that emphasize the achievable order of political existence, the correspondence of knowledge to being as such, the wisdom gained through mimetic form, and the knowledge proper to life science. As Donald Cowan says, "It is hard to say whether a student chooses a discipline or the discipline chooses the student," and yet, "in some mysterious way, compatibility between person and discipline occurs. The student becomes imbued with a particular way of knowledge, forgets himself in it, and discovers his own originality and responsibility in its context." Thus when a curriculum truly works, students drawn to a discipline think of their choice as the response to a calling.

The Thomas More College of Liberal Arts

MERRIMACK, NH & ROME, ITALY

www.thomasmorecollege.edu 800-880-8308

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

while only two faculty members have endorsed the group—the rest are "probably afraid to reveal themselves"—students were very receptive to their September 11 vigil and support-the-troops rallies. He suspects most students are probably sympathetic, but, like certain faculty, reluctant to come forward.

And at Arizona State University, senior Oubai Shahbandar's new anti-terror group hosted anti-radical Middle East scholar Daniel Pipes on the second anniversary of September 11. Shahbandar, who was born in Syria, says he's taken a lot of flack from Muslim and Arab groups for his strong support of America. But he remains undaunted, insisting not only that his fellow students are open to what he has to say, but that many Arab-Americans across the country are sympathetic to his message as well.

Iranian-born Ensieh Sarrami, a senior at Boston College, thinks her origins make students more receptive to her pro–war-on-terror views. This year, she wants to use her position in student government to influence campus-wide sentiment on the war, and eventually start a group of her own. Like many of the others, she observes that students are more and more distrustful of the radical Left: "If you're actually fighting for democratic values, you can't buy into the idea that people who died on September 11 actually deserved it." Sarrami recently traveled to Israel, where she participated in a seminar run by the Foundation for the Defense of Democracies. She says she used to be "quite liberal"—and staunchly anti-Israel—but that September 11 forced her to confront the brutal reality of terrorism. As for her ability to change minds at BC, she says, "It's going to be a hard battle, as on any campus, but I think that if you relate to people, you can reach them."

Yes, these students are nothing if not optimistic. They do garner support from national organizations such as the Foundation for the Defense of Democracies and Empower America's AVOT (Americans for Victory Over Terrorism), which brings an all-star line of speakers to campuses. But AVOT's executive director, Seth Liebsohn, who is also director of policy for Empower America, says that it's the students who reach out to him, not the other way around. "September 11 changed a lot," he says. "Younger students saw it for themselves, not through the eyes of their professors. Now they're looking for a defense of democracy, and they're often not finding it in academia." But rather than rely on national groups and politicians to bring their message to campus, the students I spoke to believe that the battle for student hearts and minds is above all theirs to fight. And they're convinced it's a battle worth waging.

It's still difficult to tell whether this optimism is justified. But whether or not these groups succeed in luring their peers from the radical Left, there are reasons to believe that their efforts bode well for the future of universities and perhaps of the country. There are striking similarities between their burgeoning anti-terror, or pro-democracy, movement and the anti-Communist movement that shaped some of today's most important thinkers and leaders. Both began with a reaction to the illiberal tendencies of the American Left, and both emerged deeply suspicious of the academic world and elite opinion more generally. Most important, both saw the difference between the rhetoric of tolerance and human rights and the reckless politics of the rhetoricians.

If nothing else, then, the next generation will have learned to be suspicious of rigid ideology, and that's already a good sign for both scholarship and politics. **NR**

The Great Servers

For applicants, 'community service' is de rigueur—and often baloney

CARLOS RAMOS-MROSOVSKY

"So," I asked, "what are you doing this summer?"

"I'm setting up a nonprofit to help at-risk youth attend college."

"That's great," I replied. "How are you going to fund it?"

Pause. "That's kind of the problem. I don't really know how to get any money for it."

I was speaking with a certified "young leader" of the sort one meets at student leadership conferences. He knew very well that it would be extremely difficult to get a new nonprofit started, and that he could accomplish much more at a preexisting charity. But he went ahead anyway.

This kind of conversation is very common among undergraduates and college-bound high-school seniors. Set against calls from prominent figures on both left and right to make "community service" a nationwide requirement for graduation from high school, stories like this should give us pause.

It is one thing for society to appreciate community service, but quite another to require it. Where it is already in place, mandatory service often contributes to a culture of hypocrisy. It can undermine young people's respect for and interest in genuine volunteerism. To understand this darker side of student volunteerism one need look no further than the admissions office at any major university.

Students get into top colleges through hard work and by learning the tacit rules of the admissions game. Genius is rarely the secret of entry. Admissions officers demand not only perfect grades but also prodigious extracurricular or athletic achievements, and community service. Insiders like to call this mix "the triple S," for "scholarship, sports, and service." In other words, if you haven't done enough hours collecting dimes to save the whales from hungry Icelanders, then you had best play the cello like Yo-Yo Ma, and be a mean lineman to boot.

It's good for the best and brightest to feel a call to serve the community. But from this student's perspective, making service into a virtual entry requirement is a moral trap: What universities look for as a sign of selflessness, students undertake

Mr. Ramos-Mrosovsky is a senior at Princeton and the founder of that school's journal *American Foreign Policy*.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

HOMER
AESCHYLUS
SOPHOCLES
THUCYDIDES
ARISTOPHANES
EURIPIDES
HERODOTUS
PLATO
ARISTOTLE
EUCLID
LUCRETIUS
PLUTARCH
NICOMACHUS
LAVOISIER
APOLLONIUS
VIRGIL
EPICTETUS
TACITUS
PTOLEMY
HARVEY
PLOTINUS
AUGUSTINE
ST. ANSELM
AQUINAS
CERVANTES
GALILEO
RACINE
NEWTON
ROUSSEAU
HUME
LEIBNIZ
LOCKE
HOBBES
MILTON
HUYGENS
SPINOZA
SWIFT
LA FONTAINE
FIELDING
ADAM SMITH
KANT

The following teachers will return to St. John's next year:

AUSTEN
WOOLF
MELVILLE
DEDEKIND
MOLIERE
GOETHE
HEGEL
LOBACHEVSKY
TOCQUEVILLE
DANTE
CHAUCER
MACHIAVELLI
COPERNICUS
LUTHER
RABELAIS
CALVIN

PALESTRINA
MONTAIGNE
VIETE
BACON
GEORGE ELIOT
DONNE
O'CONNOR
PASCAL
DESCARTES
KEPLER
SHAKESPEARE
DARWIN
LAMARCK
MOZART
BACH
SHUBERT
VERDI
BEETHOVEN
MENDEL
STRAVINSKY
LINCOLN
KIERKEGAARD
WAGNER
MARX
DUBOIS
DOSTOEVSKI
TOLSTOY
TWAIN
NIETZSCHE
WILLIAM JAMES
FREUD
VALERY
CONRAD
KAFKA
HEIDEGGER
MILLIKAN
YEATS
T.S. ELIOT
RIMBAUD
BAUDELAIRE
EINSTEIN

ST JOHN'S College
ANNAPOLIS • SANTA FE

Great books make great teachers. St. John's believes the best education is to be found in a direct and sustained confrontation with the works of those thinkers who have shaped our civilization. And all our classes are small discussion groups, because we also believe that students learn best by sharing their ideas with one another. If you are interested in learning more about our great books curriculum, call us at 800-727-9238 in Annapolis, or 800-331-5232 in Santa Fe. Our e-mail addresses are:
ANNAPOLIS CAMPUS
admissions@sjca.edu
SANTA FE CAMPUS
admissions@mail.sjcsf.edu

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

as a way to get into college and get their careers started. Benefit to the community can become merely incidental. This corrosive paradox makes many students cynical about community service. Says one classmate of mine: "I stopped doing community service after my high school forced me into it. It wasn't generous. I did it for me, not for anyone else." Many more would probably admit the same sentiments, at least after a few beers.

Just how self-serving can college-bound community service get? Consider this headline from www.StudentNow.com, a website that offers advice to prospective scholars: "Be a Triple Threat: Combine Academics, Activities and Community Service." Community service "used to be a big plus" advises www.CollegeConfidential.com. "Now, however, it's almost the norm, especially at the more competitive colleges." This advice reflects a confusion on the part of college admissions offices: In their zeal to recruit Samaritans, colleges have attracted a great number of Pharisees.

For many, these pressures continue on to higher levels of the admissions and résumé sweepstakes. Students interested in graduate schools, professional schools, and prestigious fellowships and scholarships are also advised to document their do-gooding. Sometimes the distortion of priorities diminishes the benefit to those one purports to help, as can be seen in the conversation at the start of this article.

Inquirer, her father aided her extensive community-service projects, delivering food to food banks and otherwise doing much of the work. The girl, who was also admitted to Princeton, Duke, Stanford, and Cornell, ultimately had her admission to Harvard revoked because of the plagiarism.

These examples are remarkable only in their degree. Ask students at Princeton or comparable institutions about their experiences applying to college in high school. Chances are they'll tell you a story about the student whose parents set up a charitable trust in her name, or the girl who boldly raised awareness of the dangers of littering while her parents smothered the local paper with press releases. Little wonder that many students are skeptical of classmates' service projects and especially those that aim to raise "awareness," which they see as easiest to set up and get credit for.

Some of the most genuinely service-oriented students refuse to accept credit for their good deeds. Rejecting a culture of hypocrisy, one college junior in Massachusetts omits her hours of work at a school for autistic children from her résumé. But, she says, despairingly, "I don't know if I can sustain that"—she plans to apply to graduate school. "It seems like no good deed can go uncatalogued, if you want to get ahead." Ironically, the forces that give rise to careerist community service can actually obscure the genuine article.

Yet despite its ambiguous effects on college students,

Ironically, the forces that give rise to careerist community service can actually obscure the genuine article.

The fact is that, with a few laudable exceptions, most of the volunteer work performed by college students is too small-scale and fragmentary to improve the world much. One Princeton student's experiences building a school on a summer service trip to Ghana illustrate this well. "Before I went to Ghana, I didn't realize how ineffective it would be. The school hasn't bettered their lives," he says. "I'm a lot less interested in micro-volunteering." Many students who volunteer in American inner cities report similar feelings.

What's more, colleges place a premium on leadership as well as service. This means that applicants tend to fare better when they start their own charitable projects, rather than join preexisting ones. Often, the limited time and resources available to high-school students translate into less valuable achievements but better-sounding résumé items. For example, one might found an organization to collect prom dresses for the homeless rather than work at a soup kitchen run by a local church.

Outright fakery comes a few steps beyond distorted motivations. In a recent case, a Harvard-bound New Jersey kid—who made national news by taking her school to court to be made sole valedictorian—was caught plagiarizing columns she wrote for a local newspaper. Moreover, according to the *Philadelphia*

mandatory volunteer work is increasingly popular with politicians and school boards across the country. High schools from Los Angeles to Washington, D.C., have already imposed quotas of a given number of hours of service students must perform. With these come all the easily predicted problems—unfairness to poorer students who need free time to work (for money), the problem of defining what fulfills the requirement (faith-based charities anyone?), inefficiency, and politicization.

Made mandatory by law, rather than by competitive pressures, the problem would worsen. If students can already view service as something that you do if you want to get ahead, imagine how they will regard service were it to become something you have to do just to graduate. Advocates of a national community-service requirement understandably want to inculcate the values of good citizenship and community in youth. They should reflect that the value they are trying to promote depends on a sense of duty, not necessity. They risk exacerbating a dynamic through which students may increasingly come to see volunteer service as just one more box to check on the climb of life: the moral equivalent of gym class, sex education, or chemistry.

And that would be no service at all. **NR**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the long view

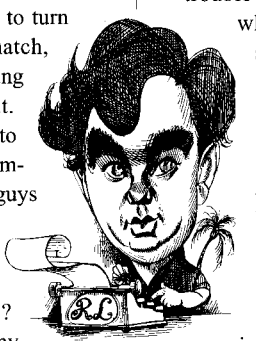
ROB LONG

The Candidates' Diaries

Special All Mixed Up Edition™

From the diary of Bob Graham, candidate for the presidency of the United States:

. . . a nice basket of those big muffins, with the sugary tops, you know the ones? They sort of crunch a little when you bite into them? And a tin of just the most fantabulous chocolate chip cookies. And a note that said, "Welcome, General Clark, to the race! Best of luck! I'm rooting for you! Love, Bob Graham," which a lot of people might think is kind of weird. I mean, we're supposed to be running against each other, and here I am wishing him the best, but I believe it's nice to be nice, you know? There's no reason to turn this thing into a grudge match, right? I mean, one of us is going to win. No question about it. And then that person is going to look at the field and think to himself, hey, which one of these guys is going to help me win this damn thing? The guy from Massachusetts? Which has, what, one electoral vote? Which you're going to get anyway? And maybe the guy is thinking this over and munching on a cookie from yours truly, or wrapped up in one of those fluffy robes I sent everyone last week, or surfing the 'net with a mousepad with my face superimposed over the state of Florida, and it'll come to him, and he'll reach for a notepad (my face, natch) and use one of my "Bob Graham's PRIMARY Wish? Good Luck to You!!!" ballpoints to write down his veep choice, and then my phone will ring and . . .



From the diary of Gray Davis, governor of California:

. . . which, unfortunately, outlawed the execution of traitors after General Vallejo was deposed and the state became American territory, but it's nice to think about what I'd do to certain people if I could somehow at least bring back whipping, which has a certain ring to it that I personally find . . .

From the diary of Hillary Clinton, senator from New York:

. . . needs a girlfriend or something, because he's going nuts up there in Chappaqua and he just won't shut up about whether I'm running or not, because he thinks there's some sort of rush here, like if I don't run now, I can't run in 2008, or if I choose to wait until 2008 and Dean goes down in 2004, then the party's going to move away from the left, or something. Like I can't run in 2012? Statistically, by then he'll likely be having trouble with the prostate, and we all know what THAT means—trouble in the hydraulics department is what that means. Tough luck, I say. If we end up back in the big house, I want to know for a fact that there's nothing al dente about . . .

From the diary of Arnold Schwarzenegger, candidate for governor of California:

. . . cheering crowds gathered, which was nice for us to see, and holding signs and banners and papers that said "Go Arnold" and such things, which was nice. But I worry, of course, and kept scanning the crowd for signs of danger to myself and my family. To most of the people, this is just a simple race for the governor of California. But to a killer robot from the future, who knows? I noticed a few people who could have been killer robots from the future in humanoid disguise, but it turned out that they were not killer robots. Of course, that's the problem with killer robots from the future: They're hard to detect in a crowd. This will be the first thing I tackle when I get to Sacramento. Maybe some kind of chip implanted in all non-killer-robots-from-the-future is the way to go. Or, if that's too expensive . . .

From the diary of Wesley Clark, candidate for the presidency of the United States:

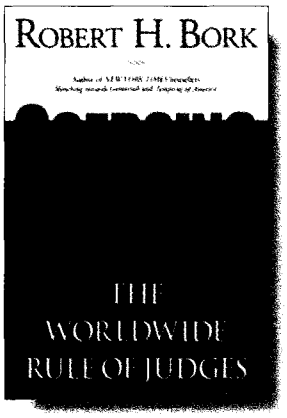
. . . when I clearly asked for them scrambled. This one had kind of a smart mouth, and he insisted I said "over easy," which simply wasn't the case. "I never said 'over easy,' sir," I barked at him. At which point he showed me his dirty pad on which he had scrawled what looked like "ovr ez," like that settled that. How am I supposed to remember every little thing I've said since time began? How am I supposed to say on this date at such and such a time I said such and such about such and such? I could feel my fist tighten around my fork as he kept insisting that I had . . .

From the diary of Gary Coleman, candidate for governor of California:

. . . difficulties with the various state employee unions, which have effectively stalled any meaningful budget process. From my back-of-the-envelope analysis—which, admittedly, isn't entirely accurate (I still haven't factored in certain deferred interest costs, or the possibility that some of the current state reconstruction bonds can be converted into a more flexible instrument of state finance) but nevertheless reveals a couple of core problems, beyond the now-tired energy-crisis shibboleth, which is so easily discredited as a cause of the state budget woes I'm surprised that it's still a generally accepted cause by tout le monde . . . Ah well. No one ever went broke underestimating . . ., etc. etc. I think my best strategy will be to freeze certain state wage hikes, though to trial-balloon a bigger cut, then deliver a smaller one, which will give me a certain momentum to attack the workmen's comp issue and push through a cluster of stealth entitlement reforms before my "honeymoon" is over. It's a cliché, I know, but clichés are such for a reason: They're often true. I'll have a certain grace period—shall we say, strictly entre nous, et pour nos amusements, one hundred days?—in which to accomplish a few key things and get the momentum on our side. The "big mo," as they say. Will need to brief senior staff and campaign aides tomorrow morning in re: this strategy. Of course, I may be getting ahead of myself . . .

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A Global Coup d'Etat



Coercing Virtue: The Worldwide Rule of Judges, by Robert H. Bork (AEI, 159 pp., $25)

ROGER KIMBALL

"We set ourselves to achieve a society that would be maximally tolerant. But that resolve not only gives maximum scope to the activities of those who have set themselves to achieve the maximally intolerant society. It also . . . paralyses our powers of resistance to them."—David Stove

THIS is probably the most irritating book I have read all year. Not, I hasten to add, because of any deficiencies in the book itself. On the contrary, *Coercing Virtue* is a model of lucidity, mordant wit, and scarifying analysis. The irritation—edging into anger and alarm—comes from contemplating the unlovely political and social realities that Robert Bork exposes. What effrontery! What culpable folly! What menacing stupidity! Those are among the more polite responses that sane readers will entertain as they make their way through this indispensable book. Judge Bork set out to provide a sort of pathologist's scrapbook detailing the ways in which hubristic judiciaries in Western democracies have made ever more serious inroads against freedom. What he has accomplished is a compelling indictment of a culture—our culture, the smug, secular culture of proselytizing liberalism.

Like many profound books, *Coercing Virtue* does not attempt to say anything new. Instead, it does something that is at once more valuable and more difficult: It reminds us of old, familiar truths—so familiar that they are everywhere neglected. "Democracy" means the rule of the people and its duly elected representatives, not the rule of unelected judges. Professional do-gooders, intoxicated by the emotion of virtue, are dangerous threats to public tranquility. Traditional morality became traditional largely because it provided sound answers to the hard problems of human frailty. Custom and convention are generally not the enemy of freedom but, on the contrary, something closer to its precondition. The single-minded pursuit of self-fulfillment is self-defeating. Individuality, like freedom, thrives best when limited by commitment and respect for values that transcend the individual.

Bork has accomplished a compelling indictment of the smug, secular culture of proselytizing liberalism.

These are the sorts of insights—plain but deep—that form the moral background of Bork's argument in *Coercing Virtue*. The foreground is supplied by his wide-ranging consideration of the way law has been perverted into a Weapon of Mass Induction for left-wing activists bent on disenfranchising a public they regard as insufficiently enlightened.

Left to their own devices, most people tend to be mildly traditionalist. They are skeptical of ambitious social programs—not because they are callous but because the hard school of experience has taught them that such experiments breed more misery than happiness. They distrust utopian schemes for the same reason. They are proud of their country. They draw solace from their religion. They do not believe that pictures of crucifixes dipped in urine should be hailed as important works of art. They recoil from the degradation of manners and popular culture. They worry about the moral education of their children.

In all this, the majority of the public—which means the majority of the electorate—poses a grave problem for the virtuecratic minority committed to boosting us all up to their own level of enlightenment. The public tends to elect moderates and resists assaults on traditional morality. The response of the Left has been to circumvent the will of the people by judicial activism—that is, by judges who do not apply the law but bend it to further the social and moral agenda of the Left.

Some observers have described this ideological deformation of the judiciary as the "American disease." American it may have been in origin. But it is part of the burden of *Coercing Virtue* to show how judicial activism has metastasized. It is now a thriving international concern, alive and well wherever right-thinking—by which I mean left-leaning—elites have attained critical mass. From Canada to Israel (home, Bork argues, to "the most activist, antidemocratic court in the world"), rule by appointed magistrates is increasingly common. In Europe, international tribunals sprout like mushrooms. The International Criminal Court, founded in 1998, claims jurisdiction over every person in the world.

Back home, American judges have increasingly turned to international sources for precedents. Justice Stephen Breyer says he found it "useful" to consult the Privy Council of Jamaica, the Supreme Court of India, and the Supreme Court of Zimbabwe. Everywhere, Bork observes, one sees a tendency on the part of judges "to minimize the historical understanding of their own constitutions

Mr. Kimball is managing editor of *The New Criterion*.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in favor of what they perceive as an international morality."

It goes without saying that by "international morality" what is meant is "politically correct, left-liberal morality." (The European Commission, for example, has decreed that "xenophobia" and "racism" are crimes punishable by up to two years in prison.) This leads to a familiar asymmetry—what Bork calls "organized hypocrisy"—according to which virtue is determined by political coloring. A judge in Spain issues a warrant for the arrest of General Pinochet, who was then receiving medical treatment in England. At the same time, both French and Spanish courts had dismissed proceedings against Fidel Castro. "It is," Bork comments, "somewhat nauseating to hear the law forbidding 'crimes against humanity' when it is obvious that what is involved is not law but politicized force." My only quibble is with the word "somewhat."

The roots of judicial activism date back to the early decades of the 20th century. (As an idea, it dates back to protototalitarian thinkers like Rousseau.) Like so many bad things, however, judicial activism really got going in the 1960s. It was then that elite culture shifted definitively to the left. Orwell's ruling on saints was applied to anything inherited from the past: It was to be considered guilty until proven innocent. People previously dedicated to preserving the cultural and moral capital of civilization—professors, clergymen, curators, journalists, judges—gradually became partisans of wholesale social reconstruction. The university was the chief breeding ground for the utopian virus that animated this project. But Bork declines to call its architects "intellectuals," "elites," etc., since such titles "have the unfortunate connotation of superiority to the general public." He opts instead for the term "New Class." Perhaps "Gas Class" would be even better, since what we are talking about is a fatal susceptibility to unanchored abstraction and utopian rhetoric.

The effect of gas-class values on judges has been particularly pernicious. It has encouraged them to forgo upholding the law in favor of making the law. On issues from abortion to welfare, from the public acknowledgment of religion to a community's tolerance for obscenity, activist judges abetted the transformation of American society according to a blueprint furnished by the left-liberal establishment. Forty years on, their success is patent. It is OK for an artist to display a picture of the Virgin covered with pornographic cutouts and elephant poop. But should a museum presume to install a crèche in their lobby at Christmas, by Kwanzaa you'll find a judge demanding it be removed in the name of "the separation of church and state." Indeed, as Bork observes, "What judges have wrought is a coup d'état—slow-moving and genteel, but a coup d'état nonetheless."

The breathtaking success of this coup has led to a certain complacency and historical amnesia. Many well-meaning people actually believe that "the First Amendment" prohibits the display of a crèche at Christmas, that it protects the dissemination of pornography, and so on. One of the great merits of *Coercing Virtue* is to remind us that such determinations rest on willful misreading.

> Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

Only by dint of extraordinary hermeneutic ingenuity can you find in that text grounds for proscribing public displays of religious symbols or protecting obscenity. As recently as 1942, the Court held that prohibiting "the lewd and obscene, the profane, the libelous, and the insulting or 'fighting words'" had "never been thought to raise any Constitutional problem" because "such utterances are no essential part of any exposition of ideas, and are of such slight social value as a step to truth that any benefit that may be derived from them is clearly outweighed by the social interest in order and morality."

But by the 1960s and 1970s we find judges whose moral autism renders them incapable of distinguishing between the expression of legitimate political dissent and willful obscenity. When Congress enacted a statute requiring cable-TV channels dedicated primarily to smut to limit transmission to hours when children would be unlikely to be watching, the Court promptly voided the statute, arguing that "basic speech principles are at stake in this case." Really? At issue were programs advertising "female masturbation/external," "girl/girl sex," "oral sex/cunnilingus," and other such bedrocks of democratic exchange. Is that what the Founders had in mind?

Bork is not optimistic about stopping "the gradual but unceasing replacement of government by elected officials with government by appointed judges." For one thing, the "rights talk" that undergirds judicial activism is more seductive—to susceptible souls, anyway—than "prudence talk" and patient argument. Since most judges are born and bred of the Gas Class, they naturally tend to embrace its values. Nevertheless, not everyone who survives college turns out like Hillary Clinton. There are, here and there, signs of vigorous resistance. One sign is the passionate persuasiveness of books like *Coercing Virtue*. **NR**

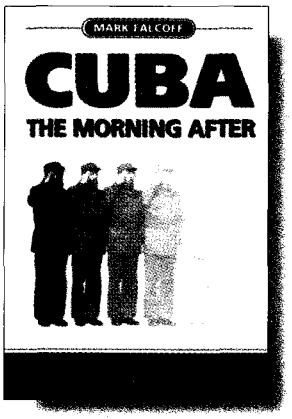
EMERSON

Closing the massive volume of Montaigne,
The lanky Yankee rises from his desk
And leaves his study for the golden fields
Of Concord, for a joy no less than reading.
He walks into the blazing setting sun,
Seeking to reach the landscape's final verge;
Moving through meadows as a man might move
Through the memory of one who writes him down;
And thinks: I have read the essential books
And written others time will not efface.
I have been given more than mortal man
On earth has any right to ever know.
The continent reverberates my name.
I have not lived. Would I were born a slave.

—JORGE LUIS BORGES
translated by Richard O'Connell

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Desperation Island



Cuba: The Morning After—Confronting Castro's Legacy, by Mark Falcoff (AEI, 285 pp., $25)

JAY NORDLINGER

JUST as Franco died, and Tito died, and Grandma Moses died, Castro will die—as unlikely as it seems some days. He has ruled Cuba for 45 years now. It so happens that this is the same amount of time that Communists ruled Eastern Europe. As Mark Falcoff points out in this new book, Castro has reigned over Cuba for almost half of the country's independent existence. (Some independence.)

Falcoff is maybe the premier conservative scholar on Latin America, and by "conservative" I really mean democratic, and forthrightly anti-authoritarian. He is as clear-eyed as anybody about Latin America, digging out facts and drawing logical conclusions from them. His previous book was *The Cuban Revolution and the United States, 1958-1960*, indispensable to the specialist and valuable to the general reader as well.

Cuba: The Morning After tackles the huge question of what will happen when Castro leaves the scene. Falcoff is quite sobering about this future; he is almost depressing. He does not believe that liberal democrats will ride in on white horses, à la Havel (who is, incidentally, one of Castro's firmest and most outspoken foes). It may be too much to hope that Cuba will become a "bourgeois" democracy in the manner of El Salvador, Uruguay, or Chile. Instead, Cuba will present gargantuan problems, for U.S. policymakers and, much more, for Cubans themselves.

The country today, says Falcoff, is nothing like the one exiles left, not only 40 years ago, but 30, 20. "Everything—political culture, habits of work, expectations, even notions of national identity and everyday speech—is completely different and cannot be transformed overnight." Cuba is so wrecked materially, socially, and psychologically that it makes, say, Bulgaria seem like a piece of cake. Many analysts have noted the similarities between it and Ceausescu's Romania—even Saddam's Iraq, whose downfall is said to have given Castro such a jolt.

Falcoff begins with a broad history of Cuba—"The Shadow of the Past"—which is gratifying, because this history has been ruthlessly falsified, both by the Castro regime and by its many apologists in the Free World. Hollywood has been particularly good at distorting the past, as witness Robert Redford's 1990 movie *Havana*. Kevin Costner bids fair to do equally dishonestly on Broadway (no less).

The historical chapter takes us up to the present day, at which point Falcoff debunks many of the myths about Communist Cuba. Surprisingly, its chief features are not universal health care and literacy. Then we get a chapter on sugar, which for generations was the backbone of the Cuban economy. But Castro and his band implemented their five-year plans and such, meaning that, in time, Cuba "actually had to purchase sugar on the world market." This puts one in mind of the old joke about socialism and Eskimos: that if they adopted it, pretty soon they would have to import snow. In Cuba, a joke like that is merely sad.

In a chapter on property, we learn that, by 1988, the regime had acquired 92 percent of Cuba's agricultural land. This is to be compared with only 6 percent in (old) Bulgaria, 8 percent in (old) Poland, and 14 percent in the USSR itself. Castro's government has been expropriating—stealing—since its inception. One of the headaches of the "morning after" will be the settlement of claims. U.S. business took a rude hit when Castro took over, in 1959. Washington certified almost 6,000 claims, whose aggregate value is now $6.5 billion. And if that is "not enough to keep U.S. diplomats busy, there are also more than 1 million Cuban-Americans (or their heirs) who have lost property in Cuba since 1959." What about them?

Cuba is in no position to pay anybody anything, with its people hungry. The country is poorer than most people know. Falcoff reviews the experience of Eastern Europe and (once-Marxist) Nicaragua in coping with property claims, analyzing a variety of options. None of them is promising.

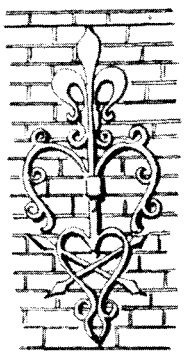
The section on tourism has a peculiar fascination. About 2 million foreigners visited Cuba in 2001. A strict "tourism apartheid" prevails, sending these foreigners to segregated hotels, segregated restaurants, and segregated beaches. They are served by Cubans who have been carefully vetted by the state. I once spoke to a Cuban-American Harvard student who told of going to the island to see his cousins: They were not allowed into the lobby of his hotel; he himself had to show his passport every time he sought to enter because, of course, he looked Cuban.

There is even, bizarrely enough, "medical tourism" in Castro's Cuba, which has foreigners arriving to receive treatment in hospitals and clinics that are off-limits to Cubans. Then the patients go relax on beaches, sipping their mojitos. Falcoff has the goods on Cuba's unique tourism—as on everything else—explaining, for instance, where the money goes (three guesses).

Civil society, of course, is an utter mess. Churches are corrupt, and even the Red Cross is just another thuggish tool for the state. America's National Council of Churches is in bed with the Castro-controlled churches; indeed, the NCC is one of the dictator's most ardent and most steadfast friends. Falcoff has a funny line: In Matanzas there is a seminary that "over time has developed a full theology in favor of the revolution—ironically, a curricu-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

lum not very different from that taught in similar institutions in the United States"! Encouragingly, there are "home churches" (as in China) where people can endeavor to practice genuine worship.



At the movie theater, the regime shows American gangster films, in the hope that this will make U.S. society seem unattractive. Afterward, however, people say, "Did you see the car the bad guy had?" This reminded me of the story out of the Soviet Union, where, in the 1940s, the authorities showed *The Grapes of Wrath*, so that people could see how miserable and mean America was. Oops: Soviet audiences simply marveled that the Joads had a Ford.

In his final chapter ("The Prospect"), Falcoff speculates on the scramble for power after Castro departs. Raúl Castro—brother and armed-forces minister—is the obvious dynast. But can the Communists hold on with their "maximum leader" of a half-century gone? It is not likely, but neither can it be ruled out altogether. Neither can the possibility of widespread violence, even civil war. The exile community—"a kind of counter-Cuba," as Falcoff describes it—is already notoriously splintered, and will be even more so, once anti-Castroism is no longer the common cause.

What the media will do is an interesting question. Perhaps I am trying to ask what the Left will do. Those who care will discover that Cuba has gaping wounds. Race relations are appalling, thanks largely to Castro's persistent disadvantaging of blacks. And the environment is a disaster (as in all Communist countries). Falcoff quotes a former director-general of the island's Department of Natural Resources, now in exile: "The environmental degradation [in Cuba] is rapid. We have the industrial production of Honduras and the pollution of East Germany."

Mark Falcoff is a thorough and balanced scholar. He comes at issues from every possible angle, offering all available facts and citing a variety of opinion, before weighing in himself. He even gives the regime's official spokesmen their say. Falcoff spends little time on current debates over U.S. policy—concerning, mainly, trade and tourism restrictions—judging them irrelevant. He has his eye on the future—and we should all hope that it is the near future.

He warns repeatedly that Cuba the morning after may be so bad that we will be nostalgic for the old one. But how much worse could the situation be, certainly for Cubans themselves? At a minimum—unless the regime survives Castro—the prison cells will burst open, and out will walk Marta Beatriz Roque, Oscar Biscet, and a thousand other bright lights. And that will be, as the slaves used to sing, a great gittin'-up morning, indeed. **NR**

Turning Hope Into Happiness.

Catholic Home Loan has helped hundreds of young couples and families purchase their first home. Offering the lowest interest rates available, guaranteed along with our donation program and our pledge to provide our clients with honest answers regarding their purchase, Catholic Home Loan has turned the hopes of many into the happy home of their future. We can also assist with refinancing your current mortgage or cashing in on the equity you currently have.

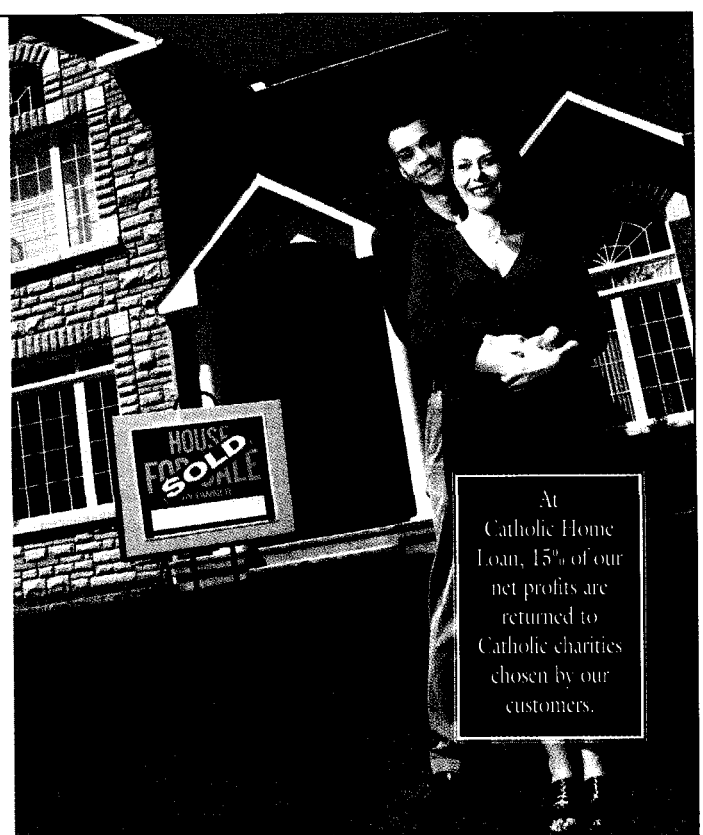
Catholic Home Loan has many programs available for the home buyer.

First Time Buyer | Construction Loans
100% Financing | Self Employment Programs

Give us a call today. We'll help you develop a plan that's right for you.

CATHOLIC™ HOME LOAN

Our business is helping you make sound financial decisions.


HOUSE FOR SALE
SOLD
At Catholic Home Loan, 15% of our net profits are returned to Catholic charities chosen by our customers.

Refinance • Purchase • Cash-Out • Consolidate Your Bills

Lowest Rates. Guaranteed. 800-270-8565

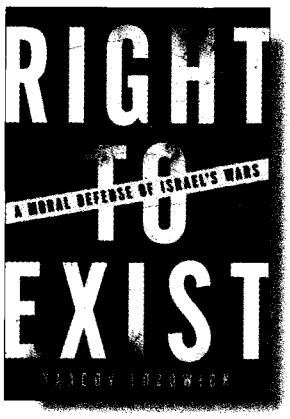
or log on and qualify today at www.catholichomeloan.com

Catholic Home Loan is a National Lender. Restrictions Apply. Equal Housing Lender. While all Applicants are made to Catholic charities. Catholic Home Loan is not approved or sponsored by the Roman Catholic Church.

Catholic Home Loan is a registered service mark of Catholic Home Loan, LLC. Not all loans are available in all states. Catholic Home Loan, LLC, 1401 South Lamar Street, Dallas, Texas 75215. Illinois Residential Mortgage Licensee; Massachusetts Mortgage Lender #ML 1632; New Hampshire Banking Dept. License Number: 4856-MB & 4856-LN. Not all programs available in all states. This is not an offer to enter into an interest rate lock-in agreement under Minnesota Law. Equal Housing Opportunity. 3250 Park Center Drive 165, Costa Mesa, CA 92626. Catholic Home Loan is a California lender. Restrictions apply. This is not a commitment to make a loan. Rates & programs subject to change without notice.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Existence, At Least



Right to Exist: A Moral Defense of Israel's Wars, by Yaacov Lozowick
(Doubleday, 336 pp., $26)

The Case for Israel, by Alan Dershowitz
(Wiley, 264 pp., $19.95)

DAVID HARSANYI

NATIONS are often called upon to defend their policies, and sometimes even their history, but few need justify their existence. Nevertheless, Israel has been mired in this thankless task for the past 55 years. Not only has its right to exist been questioned, it has been accused of a multitude of international crimes, including colonialism and genocide. The Jewish state has been cast as the world's leading human-rights violator, charged—in a cruel twist of history—with using Nazi-like tactics to achieve its goals. In the West, Israel is singled out for censure, divestment, and boycott, despite its unique role as an egalitarian nation surrounded by despotic and theocratic regimes.

In 2001, delegates to the U.N. conference in Durban voted to brand Israel a "racist apartheid state" guilty of "systematic perpetration of racist crimes including war crimes, acts of genocide, and ethnic cleansing." Denunciations of this nature have been a staple of U.N. rhetoric; the most infamous resolution came in November 1975, when the U.N. ruled that Zionism was racist. From 1967 to 1988, the Security Council passed 88 resolutions aimed directly against Israel—but zero resolutions criticizing the actions of an Arab state or body, including the terrorist PLO.

Two essential new books set out to refute many of the harsh—and historically inaccurate—charges against Israel. The first, Yaacov Lozowick's *Right to Exist*, addresses itself to anyone "open to a moral evaluation of the facts," and comes from the hand of a former peace activist. Lozowick contends that the story of Israel is, crucially, the story of its wars—and that any attempt to evaluate Zionism must be anchored in the larger context of the morality of war.

The second book may be one of the most helpful written in defense of the modern Jewish state, chiefly because it is destined to be the most popular. Alan Dershowitz's *The Case for Israel* makes use of conventional legal arguments, as well as a deep understanding of Middle Eastern history, to make a "a proactive defense of Israel." If you ever wondered why the verbose Dershowitz is considered one of the nation's top lawyers, this book will quickly convince you the accolades are well deserved.

Dershowitz challenges 32 separate accusations often leveled against Israel. Some of the accusers are well known (Edward Said and Noam Chomsky appear all too frequently), some less notable. Dershowitz vigorously defends Israel's human-rights record, and rebuts charges of expansionism. He not only demonstrates Israel's innocence, but argues that no nation in history has faced equivalent challenges and adhered to a higher standard of human rights in the process of survival. Dershowitz then goes a step further, "proactively" noting that those who criticize Israel—but not countries with far worse human-rights records—are themselves guilty of international bigotry.

Does Dershowitz or Lozowick assert that the Zionist project is without blemish? Hardly. Both acknowledge numerous mistakes by Israel, her leaders, and her defenders. Lozowick criticizes the "ineptitude, bad faith, waste, poor taste, callousness, and stupidity" found within Zionism—characteristics, he writes, that are likewise inherent in "any other large-scale human project." But both authors point out that Israel and Zionism have attempted, more often than not, to follow an honorable path. Lozowick believes this stems from ancient Jewish traditions that remain powerfully influential in modern Israel: As a country, Israel is not overtly religious, but it acts in a very "Jewish" way, especially in the political choices it makes.

A perfect example of this underlying morality in Israel can be found in the recent official Orr Commission Report, which accused the police of using excessive force against—and demonstrating "prejudice and neglect" toward—Israel's Arab minority. The report also claimed that the insensitivity of the Israeli "establishment" permitted widespread discrimination against Israeli Arabs and the buildup of a combustible atmosphere, allowing a politicized Islam to begin to radicalize the population. Whether one agrees with the commission's findings or not, could anyone conceive of a comparable self-evaluation being issued by the Egyptian government? The Saudis? Or even the French?

Lozowick, director of the archives at Yad Vashem, Israel's Holocaust museum, believes that Israelis have generally learned from their blunders, constantly reappraising their policies and their place in the world. Despite this self-criticism, Zionism is frequently rejected by classification regardless of its tangible policies, actions, or attempts at peace. Because of Israel's success on the battle-

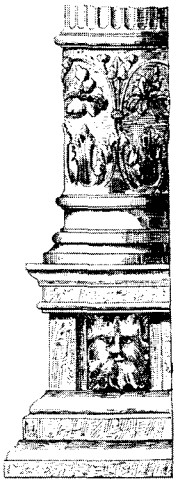
Mr. Harsanyi is an editor and writer in New York City.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

field, it has been indexed by antagonistic historians as a European colonial project—just about the most negative characterization possible in this age of postcolonial guilt. This faddish criticism has been commonplace in the Israeli historical vernacular: In 1988, historian Benny Morris announced the advent of "post-Zionism," whose project was to reexamine the Zionist "myths."

For the post-Zionists, the end of Jewish victimhood means the end of Jewish morality. Reading both these volumes, one gets the sense that many of the odious charges leveled by Israel's enemies stem from Israel's lack of victimhood, and its success in winning wars launched against it. Dershowitz spends numerous pages defending Israel's war victories: "Was the Israeli War of Independence Expansionist Aggression?" No, Israel defended itself against a genocidal war of extermination. "Was the Yom Kippur War Israel's Fault?" No, the unprovoked attack on Israel was unjustified and a violation of the U.N. Charter.

For Palestinians, the ultimate Zionist crime was the Israeli War of Independence. A hateful and distorted version of these events has become valid history among leftists, whose horror regarding Palestinian refugees prevails over any concern about the genocidal intention of Arabs, then or now. Dershowitz concludes his case for Israel by arguing that it is impossible to understand the conflict in the Middle East without accepting the reality that from the very beginning the overt strategy of the Arab leadership has been to eliminate the existence of any Jewish state, and indeed destroy the Jewish population—Zionist and non-Zionist alike.



Lozowick writes that a key lesson of the 20th century is that "when people consistently say that they want the Jews dead, they mean it." Public anti-Semitic discourse is common in the Arab media and schools, and is creeping back into the European debate. Neither author charges all critics of Israel with anti-Semitism; after all, Dershowitz and Lozowick have been critical of numerous Israeli policies over the decades. Dershowitz writes that as long as criticism is "comparative, contextual, and fair," it should be encouraged, not disparaged. But both authors contend that when the Jewish nation is the only one criticized for faults that are far worse among other nations, the criticism crosses the line from acceptable to anti-Semitic.

Why is the case for Israel so important? Why is validating Israel's right to exist essential? Both books argue that the violence in Israel and the Palestinian territories can be curbed only if the Arab nations recognize Israel as it is. The Palestinians must decide to make peace with a *Jewish* Israel, whereupon, Dershowitz writes, Israel's case for opposing Palestinian statehood would become untenable, and "surely Palestinian sovereignty must ensue." **NR**

This Man Can Teach You To Be Successful

You'll meet and learn from Reid Buckley, the distinguished master of the art of communications.

Fill out the coupon or call for FREE information.

The ability to *persuade* brings success. The Buckley School specializes in teaching executives and professionals how to sell themselves and their products: organize their thoughts, motivate people, and *confidently* address a crowd – large or small.

Each three-day seminar is taught by Mr. Buckley, renowned lecturer, debater, teacher, author, and editor, and other special guest instructors. Classes are limited to only 12 participants. Why not be one of them? Learn the skills necessary for success.

NAME

COMPANY

ADDRESS

CITY, STATE, ZIP

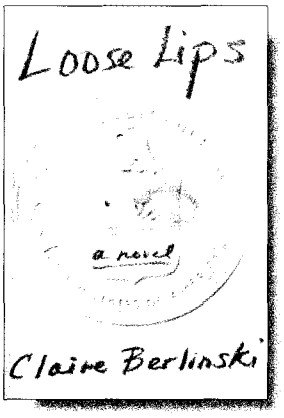
DAYTIME TELEPHONE

NR0503

The Buckley School Of Public Speaking
P.O. Box 874
Camden, SC 29020
(803) 425-4681
info@buckleyschool.com
www.buckleyschool.com

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Sweet Tales of the CIA



Loose Lips, by Claire Berlinski
(Random House, 272 pp., $21.95)

DAVID KLINGHOFFER

Is the Central Intelligence Agency really as bursting with ninnies as is thought by many, including, it would seem, by Claire Berlinski? Her first novel pulls back the curtains on the process by which members of the Clandestine Service are trained for action. Anyway, it purports to do so: It's hard to believe America could have averted another 9/11 or similar calamity—so far, at least—if our intelligence providers had been quite as dimwitted as the book suggests.

But one may be skeptical of the veracity of Miss Berlinski's *Loose Lips* while still enjoying the smart, tart humor of a book that also reflects sensitively on the hazards of creating relationships with other human beings. The novel's heroine is Selena Keller, a former grad student in Sanskrit studies at Columbia. Out of concern about the mediocrity of her academic prospects, she joins the CIA. In training at the famously bucolic "Farm," the Parris Island of the CIA, a group of attractive but not overwhelmingly bright young people learns the secrets of tradecraft.

After graduation, Selena is all pepped up for an assignment to an exotic locale. Her enigmatic boyfriend Stan gets a plum: Russia. But Selena gets: Canada. She also gets investigated for exposing extremely minor national secrets to a foreign citizen. Will the Agency kick her out even before she's had a chance to bring to fruition a covert op having to do with the right to fish for coho and sockeye salmon from the waters of the mighty Fraser River in British Columbia?

On the surface, there is nothing more melodramatic at stake than that. You have to admire Berlinski for resisting the temptation to write a Robert Ludlum novel. The model here, if anyone, is Evelyn Waugh. The hilarious triviality of the Canada assignment will deeply offend any ardent Canadian nationalist:

> Canada [that is, the CIA department having to do with said country] was wedged between Luxembourg and a broom closet. No one knew where it was, and one woman I asked denied that there was such a place. . . . I looked at the books on the wall. *Canada: A Statistical Abstract. The Hidden Waterways of Northern Canada. Oh Canada! Oh Quebec! Requiem for a Divided Country. The Canadian Statesman Speaks*. I remembered the marble cool of the Columbia University library, reading the *Mahabharata*, the calm of the Sanskrit syllables, and I remembered thinking that surely there was more than *this* to life. . . . I wanted to die.

The odd homeliness of CIA Headquarters is emphasized. A colleague asks Selena to take care of her office while she's away on medical leave: "I was to water her spider fern twice weekly, bring in doughnuts for the Friday staff meeting, make sure the coffeepot was unplugged at the end of the day (she had underlined this twice in red ink), and call maintenance about her defective window blind, which remained sullenly frozen at half-mast. 'Good luck!' she signed off. She had drawn a smiley face underneath."

Yet from such daringly unlikely material comes genuine concern for Selena's fate, and real tension when she is confronted by a pair of CIA internal investigators—droning middle-aged ladies who could go undercover at the reference desk of the local public library. This modesty about what spies are really like also serves Berlinski well in a moving evocation of what inspires Selena about her hoped-for future career. She loves America for virtues that are seldom touted but nonetheless real:

> Let's start with the fact that I've never seen an American city reduced to rubble by an earthquake. And it's not because we don't have earthquakes in America—of course we do. It's because in America, we have *building-safety codes*. And we have local inspectors who ensure that everyone adheres to those codes. State codes, county codes. And those inspectors don't take bribes. And when you read the papers, you don't read that an American nuclear reactor melted down yesterday because someone sold the spare parts to pay for a dacha on the Black Sea. . . . Look, I believe deep down that the world would be a safer place if the U.S. just ran it. . . . Just have keen young men and women from Seattle and Kansas City working eight-hour weeks to administer Rwanda and Uzbekistan.

And Canada too, maybe?

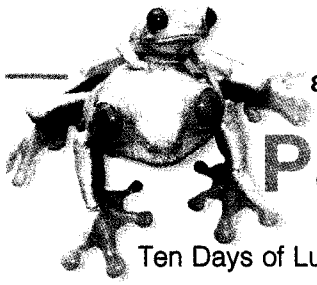
Beyond the small comedy of interpersonal and international manners, Berlinski illuminates a thread in the narrative of most people's lives, a thread whose significance is far wider than the barbed-wire-guarded perimeter of Headquarters. Selena and her friends at the Farm not only learn to lie to foreigners; they also lie among themselves. They "recruit" one another—manipulating friends and lovers, all the while never being entirely sure it isn't they who are being recruited, manipulated.

The motivation is vanity, the compulsion to fool yourself into thinking you are someone or something that you are not. Lying is the tool of vanity. Berlinski's point is that no matter how inconsequential the lies may seem—what could be more inconsequential than Canada?—dishonesty changes us inside. "Never once," Selena reflects, "did I hear anyone ask what, in the long run, it would do to *us* to consider other human beings in this fashion." Of course Claire Berlinski isn't the first to have noted this. In a psalm, King David writes of his own deceptions, feigning madness to get himself out of a tough spot with a foreign sovereign. He chastises himself, and us: "Come, my sons, listen to me. . . . Who is the man who is eager for life, who desires years of good fortune? Guard your tongue from evil, your lips from deceitful speech."

Will Selena's eagerness for life turn out to be incompatible with a career in the CIA? Read this surprisingly wise, artfully amusing novel and find out. **NR**

Mr. Klinghoffer's new book is *The Discovery of God: Abraham and the Birth of Monotheism* (Doubleday).

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



8 CABINS LEFT! LAST CHANCE TO SIGN UP FOR NATIONAL REVIEW'S 2003

Panama Canal Cruise

Ten Days of Luxury Cruising and Scintillating Political Shop-talk with
RICHARD ALLEN, RALPH REED, NORMAN PODHORETZ, MIDGE DECTER,
STEPHEN MOORE, BRENT BOZELL, REV. ROBERT SIRICO, along with
NR Editors JONAH GOLDBERG, KATE O'BEIRNE, RICH LOWRY,
JAY NORDLINGER, RAMESH PONNURU, and BYRON YORK,

GREAT NEWS! *RNC CHAIRMAN* ED GILLESPIE JOINS AS NEW SPEAKER!

Hundreds of fellow *NR* fans have already reserved their luxury staterooms for this special sojourn of conservative revelry (3 receptions and 2 'smokers' featuring H. Upmann cigars are in store!), fascinating discussions of politics and policy (7 seminars are planned!), and world-class cruising. Join them!

TEN FANTASTIC DAYS! HISTORIC CARTAGENA VISIT JUST ADDED!

DAY/DATE	PORT	ARRIVE	DEPART	SPECIAL EVENT
Sat./Nov. 8	Ft. Lauderdale, FL		5:00PM	
Sun./Nov. 9	Half Moon Cay (Bahamas)	8:00AM	4:00PM	evening cocktail reception
Mon./Nov. 10	AT SEA			morning/afternoon seminars late-night poolside smoker
Tues./Nov. 11	Willemstad, Curacao	Noon	10:00PM	morning seminar
Wed./Nov. 12	Oranjestad, Aruba	7:00AM	6:00PM	
Thur./Nov. 13	Cartagena, Columbia	Noon	6:00PM	morning seminar evening cocktail reception
Fri./Nov. 14	Panama Canal Gatun Lake	9:00AM	4:00PM	
Sat./Nov. 15	Puerto Limon, Costa Rica	6:00AM	6:00PM	late-night poolside smoker
Sun./Nov. 16	AT SEA			morning/afternoon seminars
Mon./Nov. 17	AT SEA			morning seminar evening cocktail reception
Tues./Nov. 18	Ft. Lauderdale, FL	8:00AM		

For immediate information or to apply online go to
www.nationalreviewcruise-panamacanal.com
or you may call The Cruise Authority at **1-800-707-1634**
or e-mail NR cruise experts at **groups@tcacruise.com.**

JOIN US!

There's no better way to visit *the* engineering marvel of the modern world—and a host of beautiful sun-drenched ports—than via Holland America's fabulous flagship, the *MS Rotterdam*, in the company of conservative luminaries such as foreign-policy *and national security* guru **Richard Allen**, primo GOP strategist **Ralph Reed**, acclaimed social commentators **Norman Podhoretz**, **Midge Decter**, and Rev. **Robert Sirico**, liberal media bane **Brent Bozell**, Club for Growth boss **Stephen Moore**, and *NR* all-stars **Jonah Goldberg**, **Rich Lowry**, **Kate O'Beirne**, **Jay Nordlinger**, **Ramesh Ponnuru**, and **Byron York**—and now the new Republican National Committee chairman, **Ed Gillespie!** Join them for what will be a once-in-a-lifetime travel experience.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

■ SHELF LIFE ■

Reagan's Thinking Points

MICHAEL POTEMRA

RONALD REAGAN, even at this late date, continues to amaze. A massive new book, *Reagan: A Life in Letters* (Free Press, 934 pp., $35), edited by Kiron K. Skinner, Annelise Anderson, and Martin Anderson, contains about 1,000 of the letters he wrote from age 11 until age 83, when Alzheimer's disease forced him, finally, to lay down his pen. This anthology amounts to an encyclopedia of Reagan's thought on matters public and private, political and religious, moral and aesthetic—in short, on everything.

Reagan's letters are remarkable for their candor, and for their dogged grappling with matters of principle. Political discourse has long been dominated by the use of "talking points"—the three or four most succinct, most mnemonically effective arguments for any given position. What we see in this book are not Reagan's "talking points," but what we might call his "thinking points": the insights that really made him act the way he did, as man and politician. Some of the most interesting letters in the book are addressed to William F. Buckley Jr.; with WFB, a friend of many decades' standing and an ideological soulmate, Reagan could presume on a foundation of shared belief—and build up on it a highly intelligent rationale for some of the policies that troubled Buckley and other conservatives.

One important instance is a 1987 controversy over arms control: Richard Nixon and Henry Kissinger co-wrote an article—their first public collaboration since leaving office—warning that Reagan's proposed elimination of medium- and short-range nuclear forces in Europe would give the Soviets a dangerous advantage in conventional forces and put Europe at risk. Buckley sent his old friend an advance copy of NATIONAL REVIEW, which included the Nixon-Kissinger article, along with other commentaries critical of the president's policy. Reagan responded with what he took pains to point out was "a personal letter and not a letter to the editor." He began by reassuring Buckley in broad terms, saying that "the essays on possible arms agreements with the Soviets overstate the risks and understate my own awareness of the Soviet conventional weapon threat." Then he got down to specifics: "Bill if we can get an agreement on both long-range and short-range missiles in both of which the Soviets have a sizeable edge we'll still have more than 4,000 nuclear warheads in Europe of the very short range including tactical battlefield weapons and bombs. Any reduction of these would have to be tied to conventional weapons on their side." Events would soon remove, entirely, the threat of Soviet forces, conventional or otherwise; what remains in this letter is a picture of a president closely engaged not just with his ideals, but with the very specific policies of the administration he led.

Also evident in the book is the man's preternatural charm. In 1971, *Cosmopolitan* editor Helen Gurley Brown asked Reagan, then governor of California, to "jot down . . . the nicest thing a girl ever did for me." Reagan responded: "The nicest thing a girl ever did for me was when a girl named Nancy married me and brought a warmth and joy to my life that has grown with each passing year. I know she won't mind if I say the second nicest thing was a letter from a little fifth grade girl last week. She added a P.S. 'You devil you.' I've walked with a swagger ever since." That's Reagan all over: the uxorious conservative, with a streak of very sweet rebelliousness. Meet him, in this fine and important book.

■ *Evil: An Investigation* (Basic, 276 pp., $24), by Lance Morrow, is a sober examination of a serious topic. Morrow is one of America's best essayists, and he treats his subject with the necessary sensitivity and openness to paradox. "Evil," he writes, "is a strange, versatile, and dangerous word that can be used to describe a genocide or to incite one ('Let's kill all of the ——s. They are evil.')." Evil cannot finally be understood, he concludes, but wisdom helps us deal with it: "The task is to recognize evil for what it is, and yet to respond to it with discernment. See comprehensively, as a hedgehog does, but respond discriminately, flexibly, as a fox does, without the dogmatism that makes zealots stupid and prompts them, from time to time, to burn people at the stake."

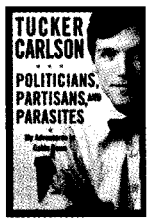
In this book, Morrow demonstrates repeatedly the acuity of his own discernment. For example, he quotes Slobodan Milosevic as follows: "There is no Serb aggression. . . . We are merely protecting ourselves." Morrow comments: "This is the invariable formulation of evil. Evil portrays itself, almost without exception, as injured innocence, fighting back. . . . I had wondered for months how, in the face of the world's condemnation and disgust, the Serbs could keep up a war conducted by rape, murder, and the starvation of whole cities. . . . The found a remarkable solution: They felt sorry for themselves. They marinated in self-pity; self-cherishing, they fairly caramelized themselves in sentimentality. They solved their formidable moral problem by declaring themselves the injured party. . . . Being a victim is the Rolls-Royce of self-justifications, a plenary indulgence."

In the U.S., the word "evil" is rarely hurled at political opponents. The conspicuous exception is Joe McCarthy, who still serves as a useful avatar of evil in today's rhetoric. Morrow draws the conclusion that McCarthy was fighting a genuine evil—Soviet Communism—but that his alcoholism destroyed his efforts: "Whittaker Chambers judged that Joe McCarthy was ultimately an enemy to the cause of anti-Communism, and Chambers was right. . . . I do not judge McCarthy to have been evil. He was history's equivalent of a drunk driver." This is a judicious statement, in a measured, intelligent, well-written, and—in the end—hopeful book.

■ Tucker Carlson may look too young to have written a memoir, but we can be

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

glad he did. *Politicians, Partisans, and Parasites: My Adventures in Cable News* (Warner Books, 208 pp., $24.95) is perhaps the funniest political book of the year—and I mean laugh-out-loud funny. A number of times, while reading this book, I practically gasped: *Doesn't he know he's not allowed to write this stuff?* What makes Carlson such a valuable conservative voice on CNN is his courageous willingness to resist all forms of political correctness—conservative as well as liberal. When he defends Gary Condit as a victim of the media's "sexual snobbery," and a man "deeply wronged—by the press," it becomes impossible for lefties to dismiss his scathing criticism of (say) Bill Bradley's speeches as merely the predictable squawking of a partisan hack. This book is strongly recommended for anybody who likes politics—or just likes terrific stories, engagingly told.

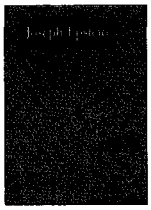


■ The wealth of English, along with the genius of one of its greatest writers, is on vibrant display in *Samuel Johnson's Dictionary: Selections from the 1755 Work That Defined the English Language* (Walker & Co., 646 pp., $39.95). Edited by Johnson scholar Jack Lynch, this handsome volume offers a generous and highly entertaining sampling of the original work. It's a vivid snapshot of the vocabulary and culture of two and a half centuries ago. "Orgasm," for example, is defined by Johnson as "sudden vehemence." (I am given to understand that this definition, while still accurate, has been narrowed somewhat in recent usage.) An "abbey-lubber" is "a slothful loiterer in a religious house, under pretence of retirement and austerity." A "harridan" is "a decayed strumpet." A "smellfeast" is "a parasite; one who haunts good tables." A "stateswoman" is "a woman who meddles with publick affairs." Johnson is skilled in finding illustrative quotations. For "blockhead," for example, he quotes a couplet of Alexander Pope: "A blockhead rubs his thoughtless skull, / And thanks his stars he was not born a fool." Macaulay called Johnson's "the first dictionary which could be read with pleasure"—and while the language has changed, the pleasure remains. **NR**

■ BOOKS IN BRIEF ■

Envy, by Joseph Epstein
(Oxford, 144 pp., $17.95)

READING this book, the first in Oxford's Seven Deadly Sins series, one imagines the Devil's marginalia: "*So* true—why didn't *I* think of that?" This question, says Joseph Epstein, is the linchpin of envy: "Why does he have it and not I?" The *it* varies—a Rolls-Royce, a private polo ground, a younger mistress—but that plaintive *why* has been the same since Eve plucked the apple. Epstein explores this vice with candor and clarity. Though this book is compact and can easily be read in one sitting, it feels exhaustive. It delves into tortuous *malebolge*—resentment, schadenfreude, envy of youth, anti-Semitism, Marxism, and so on—and examines how they are rooted in or fueled by envy. Epstein has a host of qualified guides, including Kierkegaard, Melville, and Paul Valéry. We get an instructive peek at the damned, such as Iago and Uriah Heep. Glance at the index, and you get the picture: Envy is pandemic.

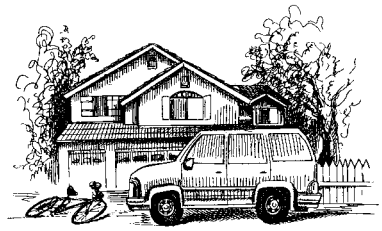


The book's virtue lies less in explaining the vice than in warning of its danger. The reader who expects a smug, winking skepticism will be disappointed. Yes, Epstein has fun. (Each chapter comes with a *New Yorker* cartoon, but these wither in the heat of the author's wit.) He is, nonetheless, deadly serious about a sin that "tends to diminish all in whom it takes possession." Epstein's writing is a rare alloy of sobriety, sophistication, and warm humor that—quite contrary to the spirit of his book—I wish *I* possessed.

—STEFAN BECK

■ THE STRAGGLER ■

The Tale of the Tapes



JOHN DERBYSHIRE

MY morning walk with Boris, Hound of the Derbyshires, is a leisurely affair. We wander as the spirit moves us, through quiet suburban streets and bosky country lanes, sometimes for an hour or more. It is around the hour mark, however, that Puritan guilt kicks in. *This is unproductive! I should be pressing ahead in life, IMPROVING myself!* And so, to assuage that guilt, I have recently taken up talking books. Now I sally forth with headphones on and a Walkman clipped to my belt. This has actually led to some further loss of keyboard productivity as, walking along engrossed in a story, I dawdle to hear more. Boris is happy with the extra street time, though. I am acquainting, or re-acquainting, myself with good writing, so I'm happy. And surely Amazon.com is happy, too. Thus do I spread light and joy all about.

This month I have been listening to C.

FOUNDED 1964
TRADITIONALIST CATHOLIC STUDENT MOVEMENT CTM INC.

Catholic Traditionalist Movement, Inc.

If you cannot physically attend a
TRADITIONAL LATIN ROMAN CATHOLIC MASS,
the next best thing is to join one spiritually
by visiting AN INTERNET WEBSITE WITH
AROUND-THE-CLOCK VIDEO LATIN MASS
www.latinmass-ctm.org as presented by the
CATHOLIC TRADITIONALIST MOVEMENT, INC.
Father Gommar A. De Pauw, J.C.D.
Founder - President
210 Maple Avenue
Westbury, New York 11590
Tel. (516) 333-6470
Fax. (516) 333-7535

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Day Lewis's translation of the *Aeneid*, put on tape by Naxos AudioBooks. The cast of readers is very fine, with Paul Scofield, who played Thomas More in that wonderful movie *A Man for All Seasons*, as main narrator, and Toby Stephens as Aeneas. The reader who does Mercury—I think it's John McAndrew—actually manages to sound convincingly breathless after speeding across from Olympus to deliver his messages. The text is severely edited down for recording—they skip most of Book III, and all of Books VIII-XI—but the thing still works, and this is one of my happier finds so far in the talking-books catalogs.

Like many another thoughtful modern, I suffer from classics envy. I wish I could read the old languages; I wish I knew more of their literature. In my case the condition is more acute, or at any rate more rueful, than average, as I actually did four years of Latin as part of my secondary education. It was compulsory: At that time, you could not go to university in England without an exam pass in Latin, whatever major you intended to pursue. Those like me who were taking math and science electives regarded this as an imposition, of course, and construed our Caesar and Virgil with an ill grace, and took a vengeful pride in forgetting our Latin as quickly and thoroughly as possible once the exam was passed. ("Learning," a cynical Chinese friend once told me, "is like a brick you use to break open a door. When the door is open, you throw away the brick." I am ashamed to have ever cloven to such a philistine doctrine, but there is no denying the truth.) I think I was in my thirties before I again tried to read Latin, and by that time it was much too late to recover what I had so carelessly thrown away. I can't construe a single line now without a crib, or a great deal of dictionary work, and I bitterly regret my past neglect.

I regret it most of all when reading, or listening to, the *Aeneid*. We did "selections" in school, but they seem not to have been well selected. When, soon after I had finished with school Latin, I read St. Augustine's lament for the time he had lost in profane studies—"I wept for Dido when I should have been weeping for my soul"—I had no idea what he was talking about. Reading the poem now, the most moving and colorful parts ring no bells, while some of those tedious battle passages from the later books—X smote Y, then Z smote X—are distantly familiar. Our schoolmasters might at least have left us with something worth remembering.

When I first picked up the *Aeneid* again after the long dark ages of philistine resentment had passed, I read Rolfe Humphries's translation, and got the point, and wished I had paid more attention in school. Though I am pleased with this new talking book, on balance I like Day Lewis's translation less than that of Humphries. Day Lewis occasionally clangs: When Aeneas, catching a glimpse of Helen hiding in the temple, is filled with anger to recall how the whole business was her fault, Day Lewis has him tell us his reaction thus: "Was she going to get away with it?" Not only does that depart from the main diction, it is a poor match for Virgil's words.

You can't have everything, though, and the Naxos tapes are worth the price just for Paul Scofield's voice. Listen to the growl of mingled salacity and reproof he brings to the lines where Dido and Aeneas first become lovers: "forgetting their kingdoms, wrapped in a trance of lust!" (In this particular case, I think Day Lewis has the edge on Humphries, who renders this as: "Heedless of ruling, prisoners of passion," though you might argue that this is closer to the Latin: *fovere regnorum immemores turpique cupidine captos*. Dryden spins it out to an entire couplet: "Forgetful of her fame and royal trust, / Dissolv'd in ease, abandon'd to her lust.") And I had forgotten that Philip Larkin's great line about death being "a huge and birdless silence," which I quoted in a column elsewhere just the other day, takes its "birdless" from the Latin *Avernus*, the lake that leads to the underworld, whose name Virgil tells us derives from the Greek *a-ornis*, "birdless," because the fumes rising from the lake are so foul, no bird can fly through them. *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* says this is a false etymology, but who cares? It gave a fine English poet a chilling metaphor. Ah, the classics—sex and death!

The *Aeneid* doesn't get much coverage in modern educational systems. Maya Angelou's more the thing, with immortal lines like

> The horizon leans forward,
> Offering you space to place new steps of change.

Even in the scattered few remaining college classrooms where ancient literature is taken seriously and horizons, refusing to lean, stay resolutely vertical, Virgil is not much bothered with. The Greek epics get more curriculum space. I have no Greek at all, though I have read Homer in translation. So far as an opinion thus founded can be worth anything, I prefer Virgil. He is much more obviously a civilized man, closer to a modern sensibility. Homer's Achaeans were, let's face it, only just this side of barbarism. Seeking an informed opinion on this point, I consulted Tracy Lee Simmons, whose little book *Climbing Parnassus* offers the best arguments I have ever seen for studying the classics. Tracy: "I know what you mean about Homer. All that is mostly brute narrative. But that's true only in English; in Greek, both the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* play like symphonies."

That is music I shall never hear. With the help of a brilliant English actor, a decent English poet, and the unthanked labors of some forgotten English schoolmasters, I can catch a few strains of Virgil, though, as if heard from a great distance. Like the boat captain in Book V, I hug the shore while others take to the deep water: *Litus ama . . . altum alii teneant*. It is something, though—better than not putting to sea at all. **NR**

LEGACY

WHAT WILL YOURS BE?

What will you bequeath to future generations? How will the ideals you cherish *now* be sustained *then*? Who will articulate your principles for the sake of your grandchildren, your faith, your community, and your country?

There is an answer.

With your help, *National Review* will endure as a powerful voice, sustaining those beliefs you hold dear. Now. And for future generations. As ever, standing athwart history, yelling Stop.

To obtain more information about remembering *National Review* in your will or estate, please contact:
National Review, Legacy
Attn.: James Kilbridge
215 Lexington Avenue, 4th Floor
New York, NY 10016
212-679-7330

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

classified advertisements

AIRFARES

LAST MINUTE airfare savings.
www.BidonTravel.com/lastminute.html

FOR SALE

TRADITIONAL 16TH CENTURY RETABLOS OF SPANISH NEW MEXICO. Hand painted. 505-538-0591
Retablos35@yahoo.com

"PILLORY HILLARY" Bumper Stickers.
$5 each while they last. E-mail to:
symphtours@aol.com

HOTELS

SAVE on hotels and resorts.
www.BidonTravel.com

"Rated One of New York City 'Best Value' Hotels." ... *Zagats*

New York's all suite hotel is located in the heart of the city, near corporations, theatre & great restaurants. Affordable elegance with all the amenities of home.
MURRAY HILL EAST SUITES
149 E. 39th St. (Bet 3rd & Lex) New York, NY 10016
Reservations 1-800-248-9999
Ask about our special National Review rates.

LITERARY

CONSERVATIVE BOOK DISCUSSION CLUB meets monthly in Manhattan. Call 212-627-8633, or email: r.agostini@att.net

AUTHOR'S SERVICES—Ghostwriting, Book Packaging, Design and/or Layout. Professional Writing. Call: 208-322-7239

BECOME A PUBLISHED AUTHOR. QUALITY SUBSIDY PUBLISHER ACCEPTING MANUSCRIPTS.
1-800-695-9599

Independent Publisher seeking Politically Incorrect fiction/non-fiction. 541-459-6043.
Editor@elderberrypress.com

PROFESSIONAL SERVICES

National Collections
Delinquent Accounts • Returned Checks
Professional, courteous & efficient
Revenue Security Services
P.O. Box 23037
Corpus Christi, Tex. 78403
T: 800-276-0696
F: 361-883-1888
marketing@revenuesecurity.net
Member ACA

WEBSITES

WEIRDREPUBLIC.COM Incinerating liberal nonsense with the blowtorch of conservative reason.

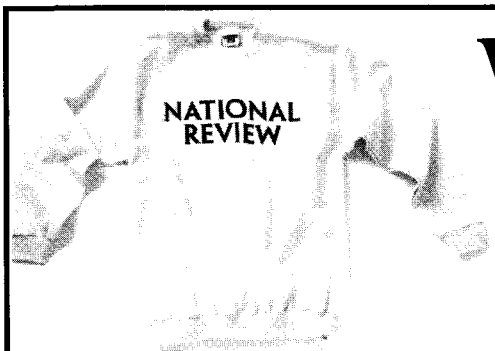
Not for everyone, just those who consider their health their most valuable asset.
www.lifeplushealth.com

SUPPLY SIDERS GALORE
NRO Financial: Larry Kudlow, Stephen Moore, Bruce Bartlett. Every day at: www.nationalreview.com

NR REPRINTS AVAILABLE
"The War On Drugs Is Lost" ($1.70)
"The 100 Best Conservative Movies" ($1.50)
(Please add 50 cents for shipping and handling.)
Send to: NATIONAL REVIEW
215 Lexington Avenue,
New York, N.Y. 10016
Specify selection.

CLASSIFIED INFORMATION

Rates: $4.50 per word (10-word min). Phone number, zip code, all permitted abbreviations (P.O.Box, S.A.S.E., etc.) count as one word.
To Order: Full payment in advance by check, money order (payable to NATIONAL REVIEW), MasterCard, or Visa (include expiration date). Address: Kevin Longstreet, NATIONAL REVIEW, 215 Lexington Ave., New York, N.Y. 10016. Fax: 212-696-0340. Tel. 212-679-7330.
Deadlines: Every other Friday (approx. 6 days before the magazine is printed).



WARM YOUR FORM

Get toasty in the Official *NR* Sweatshirt, Featuring Our Navy Blue Logo Emblazoned on Classic Ash Heavy "Premium Cotton." Can You Say "Super Comfortable"?

Get the Official *NR* Sweatshirt
I'm getting the shivvers just *thinking* about it: Send me _____ of these great shirts (only $29.99 each, including shipping!) to:

Name _____
Address _____
City _____
State _____ ZIP _____

_____ **Size L** _____ **Size XL**

PAYMENT METHOD
☐ Check enclosed (make payable to "National Review")
Bill to: ☐ MasterCard ☐ Visa
Acct. No. _____
Expir. Date _____
Signature _____
Total payment $ _____

New York State residents must include sales tax.

NATIONAL REVIEW 215 Lexington Avenue, New York, NY 10016

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

on the right

WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY JR.

U.S. at Bay? Or U.N.?

NEW YORK, SEPTEMBER 5

THERE's no question that the administration misjudged the extent of the Iraq problem. That problem is the problem of Iraq, #1, and #2, the problem of our allies and of the United Nations. The doom box is loud and vibrant, e.g., the *Daily Telegraph*, whose Daniel Johnson reports a meeting at 10 Downing Street between Jack Straw, foreign secretary, and Tony Blair, prime minister, and speaks of "confidential advice to the Foreign Secretary" which "depicts a country on the brink of collapse." Readers were told that "participants at the meeting were invited to think the hitherto unthinkable: 'We are at risk of strategic failure in Iraq.'"

That isn't going to happen, though we have to acknowledge that there are allies who rather wish it would happen. They call this Schadenfreude, which is the pleasure covertly taken from adverse developments. Hear now the tone of the editorial in India's *Hindustan Times*: "America has found out at last that the taste of the pudding is in the eating. Five months ago it short-circuited a debate in the U.N. Security Council when it found it would not be able to secure approval for invading Iraq, and went ahead with its plans anyway. But the administration has since discovered that toppling Saddam Hussein was the easy part. Thus, it now proposes to go back to the U.N. it had so haughtily ignored to seek a resolution authorizing the setting up of a multinational force to stabilize Iraq, a task which the predominantly U.S. occupying force has found well beyond its capability."

The Bush people have to maneuver through swampy ground. It is of course not correct that we ignored the United Nations. We operated under the auspices of several U.N. resolutions. Legally, it having been established that the government of Saddam Hussein had not lived up to its obligations under the peace treaty of 1991, the old war was still in force, its sanctions continuing. But it is true that a French veto threatened, this time around, and that threat forced the U.S. to proceed without the ultimate formality of a Security Council resolution. To charge that we traduced the U.N. by declining to accept a French veto on strategic policy is to say more than history is likely to hold.

But it is true that we would be glad for more help than we are getting. Nations that have peacekeepers at their disposal probably aren't going to come in to do their share about the collegial problem in the Mideast. The administration acknowledges this by the verve with which we are setting up an Iraqi Governing Council to take over as much of the burden as can be shared. The crystallizing position of our summer friends is that they wish U.N. authority to replace U.S. authority in Iraq. The French and the Germans are pretty direct on this point, and the U.N. bureaucracy is itching for authority. It isn't immediately obvious just what points of contention there would be between the U.S. and the U.N. in the management of the Iraqi problem. Oil revenue, perhaps, though any surplus is many years down the road. What would threaten joint action is the importunate voice of Muslim fundamentalism. Kofi Annan is not built to press his own views athwart the hard opposition of non-Western opinion.

The Bush people are no doubt prepared to get on with the true liberation of Iraq without help, even from those neighbors who would most profit from a detoxified Iraq. Jordan's *Al-Dustur* reports that "The American adventure has reached its impasse. The American arrogance has been stripped of its peacock feathers." What would the Jordanian paper recommend? What was that paper saying in 1991 when Jordan sided with Saddam Hussein?

The Bush appeal for U.N. cooperation should be carefully made. Experienced observers will soon see that any failure in Iraq owing to a failure of other nations to discharge collegial responsibilities will damage the U.N. far more gravely than any clerical inattention to it by the United States. The sacred ideal of joint action is at stake.

Bush is Evil

NEW YORK, SEPTEMBER 9

IN a private forum the question arose, Why do they hate Bush so? And . . . what will they do with that hatred? How will it affect the presidential election?

The participants agreed that it is a singular hatred, greater by far than what was felt by dissenters against Ronald Reagan in 1984, and rivaling what was felt for Nixon in 1973-4. It supplies a useful context here to recall that hatred of Nixon was very much alive in 1972, but he carried 49 states in his reelection bid. The decapitation of Nixon was in due course effected, but required his cooperation. Bush, by contrast, is not ever going to engage in suicidal activity of an extra-political character. Does this mean that the animosity toward him will wash away in the flood tide of a reelection victory? An examination of this point needs of course to acknowledge that you don't have to do a Watergate to end your career. George H. W. Bush ended his without any brush with felony.

The inquiry continues: Why the feelings toward Bush? The answer, as agreed upon in this improvised study, was: 1) He is not legitimately president of the United States. The other guy got more votes. Bush slipped in because of capricious conduct by the courts. 2) Bush is a Christer. He takes every opportunity to inform the American people that he is in touch with the Lord and therefore that, by deduction, what he does is the Lord's work. 3) He gravely miscalculated the onus of what he set out to do in Iraq. The consequences of that miscalculation are deaths unending, and more money spent than King Solomon dreamed of. 4) The economy lacks the kind of resiliency it might have shown if more resourcefully

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tended. 5) His truckling to the rich in his tax cuts shows a callous disregard of civil adjudications between America's poor and America's rich. And finally, 6) He is a liar. He specifically informed the public that Iraq had in hand instantly deployable weapons of mass destruction. These, it proved, did not exist.

The question then was: How will the opposition communicate this animosity? When Democratic Candidate X faces President Bush in the televised debate, how will he express, or capitalize on, the odium? Will the average voter wish to hear about the evil of Bush? What is the good of hating Bush if you can't interest your neighbor, and his neighbor, in hating Bush? That, after all, is the point of this exercise—to send Bush back to his ranch, permanently.

Probably the first person who will need to explore these questions is Howard Dean. Dean is campaigning against Bush using language that would be appropriate in campaigning against a public enemy. One assumes the sincerity of Dean's passion, which is doing yeoman work for him with Internet ideologues and with Manichaean Democrats drawn to the proposition that the only way to understand Bush is to know that he is evil.

Is it predictable that after Dean sews up the nomination, winning in Iowa, New Hampshire, and South Carolina, he will confront a body of previously inert Democrats who will be reluctant to endorse an anti-Bush campaign based on the incumbent's venality?

If that happened, how quickly would it happen? The nomination might well be sewn up by early March of 2004. How soon after that would Candidate Dean discover that the drumbeat which has been propelling him isn't resonating over hill and vale into the body of voters needed to proceed with the election of a new president, which is something different from the excommunication of a sinner?

That test could come before Dean is anointed. It is entirely possible that the people who go to the polls in Iowa and New Hampshire will be wondering whether they are being coopted by the moral absolutes of Candidate Dean, who is asking them to dispatch him to kill the dragon in the White House.

George Bush could ease that problem for Dean by simply becoming evil. But that is not something Howard Dean can safely count upon.

Road Map to Chaos

NEW YORK, SEPTEMBER 16

THE ultimatum to Israel is pathetic business and will be laughed out of court in the Mideast and elsewhere. Says great big Uncle Sam to General Sharon: For every mile you extend your wall, we'll deduct the cost of that construction from the money we are paying you. The invocation of an economic perspective is road-map trivialization. It is on the order of informing the Soviet Union, in 1961, that we would put in a claim for the cost of the Berlin Wall. What is now inconceivable, in terms of national pride, is that Sharon will interrupt the construction of the wall, which is costing $2 million per mile.

Mr. Bush's road map has evolved as a great fiasco. If the administration was not willing to see the plan through, it should not have been promulgated. The U.S. has for decades declined to specify the terms of an Israeli-Palestinian rapprochement, though our see-through alliance with Israel has been obvious, and steadfast.

What happened after the abandonment of the Oslo accords, was a departure in U.S. policy. The president declared that the U.S. was prepared to recognize a Palestinian state provided that the two sides made certain concessions. Prime Minister Abbas was to take action against the Hamas terrorists, and Israel was to evacuate the West Bank, while taking appropriate steps to assure its security.

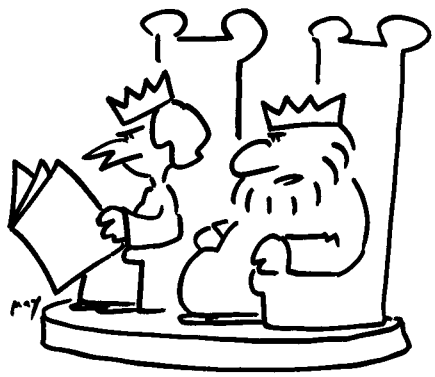
All three sides to the intended reforms were delinquent. 1) Abbas did not move against the terrorists. The only way to do this would have been to defy Arafat, who has the backing of the 7,000-man elite security force, as also the backing of the Palestinian "street." Abbas would have precipitated a civil war if he had moved effectively on the terrorist organizations. 2) Israel did practically nothing in the matter of the settlements. Sharon will not abandon the irredentist wing of his supporters in the Knesset and elsewhere, to say nothing of the 200,000 Israelis who live in the settlements. 3) And the U.S. exerted no substantial pressure on either party.

The analyst for *The New Republic* adds to the despair he feels over the disintegration of the road map the matter of a U.S. election coming up. If we can understand that Sharon can't make his way around the right wing that refuses to compromise on the settlements, we should be able to understand that a president seeking reelection is not likely to act in such a way as to put U.S. loyalty to Israel into question.

What might an American government do? The idea of a wall is understandable, even commendable. An Israeli official has said, Look—we have had no terrorist penetrations where the wall is built! But the question isn't the wall, it is the shape of the wall. As projected, and already in part erected, it makes enclaves of the settlements so brusque as to leave some Palestinian farmers removed from their own land. What is inconceivable, given the design of the wall, is any future Palestinian state contiguous in shape. And the implications of it invoke apartheid, either an immobilization of the Palestinian world, or its assimilation in subordinate civil status.

But if real pressure were put on Israel to retrench on the settlements, what could the U.S. offer? Quite a lot. A guarantee of the survival of Israel. This can't mean the end of terrorist activity. Nothing can ensure that, but it is best confronted with a confidence that justice is being sought.

—UNIVERSAL PRESS SYNDICATE



"Yes, I know what you'd do if you were Hillary."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

what's right

DAVID FRUM

Do Tell, Isabel

If you read the Drudge Report, you know all about Hurricane Isabel. Or maybe not: Maybe you are one of those who shrug off "weather hype" and skip past Drudge's weather headlines down to the political and celebrity items. What, after all, is there to say about a storm? It comes; it knocks down some trees; it goes.

I used to number myself with the weather skeptics. No more. Drudge is right: Storms are news. More than news: Hurricane Isabel exposed some of Washington's social realities more vividly than a dozen episodes of *The West Wing*.

Two mornings after the storm hit, I was driving on one of the city's main arteries, River Road. All its street lights were still out of commission. A flare was burning in the center of a big intersection, and cars were patiently taking turns to cross. The cars were moving even slower than you might expect, because one of the intersection's lanes was blocked by a police car—with two members of D.C.'s finest inside, watching the traffic trying to crawl past them. In another city, the cops might have parked so that they did not snarl traffic; they might possibly even have stepped out of the car and directed traffic. In another city, they might have found Chandra too. But that's not how things are done in Washington!

How *are* things done in Washington? Well, the night before, my wife and I had taken our dogs for a walk along a street that borders one of the city's ravines. It's a windy, wooded street that plunges from almost the highest point in the city almost to the river valley—and, of course, it was hit hard by the storm. The row of very grand houses that line it from top to bottom were all plunged in black.

Well, not quite all: About a third of the way down, we passed the imposing mansion of the elected president of Washington's school board, Peggy Cooper Cafritz, lights blazing, air conditioning whirring. There was no sound of a generator. Perhaps she'd gotten lucky. Or perhaps the people at the local utility had drawn the same lesson I'd drawn from watching this large, fierce woman on local cable programming: This is a woman you cross at your peril—and out they had come to fix her lights, pronto.

Washington is two cities, one overlaid atop the other: the federal city that governs the country, and the local city that is barely able to govern itself. The local city is a network of deals and special privileges that those of us who live and work in the federal city seldom understand. But if you do understand it, there are fortunes to be made in it: Alexis Herman, before she became President Clinton's labor secretary, made herself a wealthy woman by accepting slices of the action from real-estate developers who felt that having a local partner might improve their chances of getting zoning approval. And though the local city serves most of its residents very badly—the city's schools, for example, rank among both the costliest and the very worst in the nation—it clearly serves some of its residents very well.

D.C.'s finest just sat and blocked traffic. Ho-hum.

The local city dislikes and distrusts the federal city. And even the federal city's mightiest residents can have trouble getting the local city's attention. A few paces beyond the Cafritz mansion is the understated home of Alan Greenspan, chairman of the Federal Reserve. By any definition, Greenspan is a high-priority case: If the dollar tumbles in overnight trading, you want the Fed chairman to be able to talk on the telephone and pull up an Excel file. Yet nobody had been out to fix *his* wires.

Instead, somebody had driven what looked like a Winnebago onto his property and tethered it to the side of his house. Inside the Winnebago was a generator that looked big enough to power a small shopping mall.

We returned to our pitch-black house. I couldn't claim with a straight face to be any higher a priority than any of the other 3 million homes that were reportedly darkened by Isabel. Still, I've got my grievances. Isabel was my second major blackout in a month—I'd been in Toronto when large chunks of North America were hit by the great August power failure. Two blackouts during the final 30 days of a book deadline seems rather more than one's fair share of technological misfortune.

Still, here's something else I noticed in two blackouts in two great cities: Torontonians handled their August blackdown with marvelous efficiency. Power was restored to just about everyone within 24 hours, following a clear and logical system of priorities. At crowded intersections, citizen volunteers directed traffic—and drivers conscientiously obeyed. Everything lived up to Peter Ustinov's famous quip about Toronto: "New York run by the Swiss."

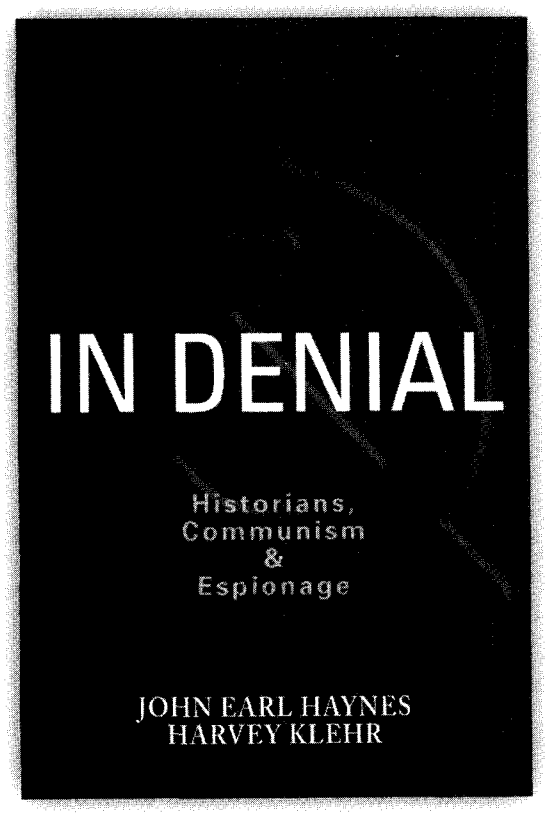
The Swiss, however, have never been famous for their spirit of neighborliness, and so it was in the great Toronto blackout. No block parties, few stories of neighbors whose power arrived early helping neighbors whose power arrived late. To the contrary: When the provincial authorities requested that citizens turn down their air conditioners, the airwaves burned with 24 hours of talk radio about whether it was okay to snoop on your neighbors' power use.

Not so south of the 49th parallel. In his new history of the Americas, the Anglo-Spanish historian Felipe Fernandez-Armesto ridicules the claim that the United States is an individualistic society. "People in the United States," the dyspeptic professor observes, "are cloyingly gregarious, profoundly communitarian, boringly conformist. They get glutinously embedded in any community they can. . . . Civic-mindedness, not individualism, is what makes 'America' great."

Shear away the adjectives, and all one say is, "Well, *duh*, professor." Individualistic America is also civic-minded America—civic-minded precisely because it *is* individualistic, just as Alexis de Tocqueville pointed out all those years ago, just as Hurricane Isabel reminds us one more time. **NR**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

What They Teach About Communism



"...Their incisive analysis and meticulous attention to evidence make this a formidable rejoinder to left-wing orthodoxies."

–Publishers Weekly

In this intriguing book, John Earl Haynes and Harvey Klehr show how, more than a decade after the death of communism, the leading historical journals and many prominent historians in American universities continue to teach that America's rejection of the Communist Party was a tragic error, that American Communists were actually unsung heroes working for democratic ideals, and that anti-communist liberals and conservatives were malicious figures deserving condemnation.

The focus of *In Denial* is what the authors call "lying about spying." Klehr and Haynes show how many contemporary historians have ignored or distorted new evidence from recently opened Soviet archives about espionage links between Moscow and America in the 1940s and 50s. They analyze the mythology found in our major universities that Alger Hiss, Julius Rosenberg, Harry Dexter White and all the others who betrayed the United States were more sinned against than sinners.

Haynes and Klehr were the first American historians who used the newly opened archives of the former Soviet Union. They were among the first to write about the Venona intercepts. In *In Denial*, they use what they discovered to show that while the Cold War against international communism may have been won, the war over the meaning of the communist experience in America is still very hot indeed.

ENCOUNTER BOOKS www.encounterbooks.com
At bookstores everywhere or call 800-786-3839

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Want to Bring Back "The Good Old Days"?

HILLSDALE ACADEMY students consistently place in the top three percent of all students nationwide in standardized testing. They learn in a proven system rich with respect for the basic ideals of American life. And they have fun doing it. The following checklist should offer encouragement and hope for anyone interested in educational excellence:

- ☑ a safe environment
- ☑ teaching of moral character
- ☑ appropriate and effective discipline
- ☑ proven and consistent academic excellence
- ☑ reading of classical texts in original editions free of "politically correct" revisionist rewrites
- ☑ a traditional, back-to-basics approach including written standards for faculty, staff, students and parents and a curriculum emphasizing phonics, spelling, grammar, history, government, economics, the sciences, modern and classical languages, geography, penmanship, art, music and physical education
- ☑ the determination to nurture young minds carefully and responsibly

Within a year, over 25 new schools will open based on the *Hillsdale Academy Reference Guide* and over 400 schools will use the *Reference Guide* to enhance existing programs. All will duplicate the proven methods that have made Hillsdale Academy "a model for America."

☑ Yes, I'd like more information regarding the *Hillsdale Academy Reference Guide.*

Name _____ Phone _____

School or Company _____

Address _____ E-mail _____

City/State/Zip _____

Mail to *Hillsdale Academy Reference Guide*, Dept. NR, 33 East College Street, Hillsdale, MI 49242.
Or call (800) 989-7323.

Hillsdale Academy
Virtus et Sapientia

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED